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ABSTRACT

This monograph contains the speeches and resolutions of representatives of forty-one ethnocultural groups residing in Canada. Included are: (1) opening messages by Pierre Trudeau, Joe Clark, Edward Broadbent, and Alex Chumak; (2) a discussion by Norman Cafik on federalism, multicultural groups, and Canadian unity; (3) remarks on Canadian unity by John R. Evans and Robert Welch; (4) analyses of unity in the multicultural community from the perspectives of several different ethnic groups; (5) views of youth on unity; and (6) discussions of the future of Canadian multiculturalism. Also included in the monograph are minutes of the plenary session and membership lists of various conference committees. (GC)

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UNITY WITHIN DIVERSITY

Proceedings of a Multicultural
Conference on Canadian Unity
held in Toronto, April 21–22, 1978

Editors:

Shiu L. Kong, PH.D.
Riten Ray, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

This book of proceedings contains the views, wishes and resolutions expressed by representatives of forty-one ethnocultural communities who met in a multicultural conference to deliberate and discuss Canadian unity. The conference was attended by some five hundred people from diverse backgrounds – community leaders, concerned citizens, youths, politicians and government officials. The mere gathering together of such a formidable group of people to dwell on Canadian unity indicates the seriousness of the issue. It also reflects the deep concern of the one-third of the Canadian population whose origins are neither English nor French that they no longer tolerate being put aside as a bystander in this important debate. Through this conference the 'ethnics' or 'immigrants' have demonstrated that they do have a common interest in the shaping of Canada's future, that they do want to participate in the decision process as to what that future should be.

The theme of the conference is UNITY WITHIN DIVERSITY. Under this theme, the conference brought together the voices of all parties to the discussion on unity at a moment when national unity is in question. Issues which range from curriculum content in the schools, to the organization and use of tax supported mass media, to the nature of an All Canadian Constitution for all Canadians, to what the concept of confederation implies in a multicultural, multiracial and multilingual society were identified, dealt with from different perspectives, and brought into focus as they impinge on the reinforcement of national unity and the charting of a new national direction. In essence, the major question is not whether unity is desirable or possible, but how to maintain and strengthen it out of a rich and dynamic diversity.

As the conference proceeded, it became clear that Canadian unity would not be achieved simply through legalistic, technical or historical arguments or debates. Canadian unity should be preserved and fostered through mutual understanding and respect for the vast cultural resources that are found in every Canadian community and in every citizen's home. The composite cultural character of this nation provides different dimensions of our national life. The strength of our national unity is in the persistent discovery and exploration of these dimensions.

One of the significant outcomes of this conference is the united presentation of a set of resolutions on Canadian unity. While the papers and discussions contained here register individual, diverse, and sometimes conflicting viewpoints, the resolutions represent the consensus and common wish of all participants. A second significant outcome, and perhaps it is reflective of the congenial mood of the plenary meeting, is the unanimous decision to strike an ongoing Committee on Unity Within Diversity to further the goals of the conference, and to actualize the many good ideas expressed. At the time of writing, this new Committee is already actively at work, and information about its membership and planned activities is contained on page 114.

In preparing the materials for printing, members of the Editorial Committee made extensive efforts to collect from presenters and recorders their speech texts and recorded materials, so that all the ideas expressed, dialogues exchanged, and discussions made at the conference are assembled as fully as possible. We are gratified that the response was excellent. There are, however, unavoidable gaps. A few of the speeches were not available in written form, and while we made an attempt to record the entire conference proceedings, the recording was not perfect. But even when a speech was properly recorded, there could be mishaps. For example, we regret very much that we could not include Dr. Stewart Smith's sincere and provocative speech. He spoke extemporaneously, responding to the mood of the gathering. When his taped speech was sent for transcription, a careless secretary managed to erase the entire tape! Much to our regret, we have to miss out three of the speeches in this publication.

Typical to a conference of this nature, each speaker spoke in his/her unique style. The editors' interest is to preserve the original flavour of every speech, and at the same time to ensure readability and a degree of consistency in presentation.

It would not be possible to acknowledge all the help and encouragement given us in the production of this important publication. We believe that it will be read widely and seriously by all Canadians who are concerned about our common future. The final credit must go to the organizers of the conference, the speakers and discussants, and all the participants who demonstrated their concern and commitment by their active presence at the conference. Ultimately, it is this involvement that will serve as the driving force in the shaping of Canada's destiny.

S.L. KONG
R. RAY

1

INTRODUCTION

Ce livre de délibérations contient les points de vue, les désirs et les résolutions exprimés par des représentants de quarante et une communautés ethnoculturelles qui se sont rencontrés à un congrès multiculturel pour délibérer et discuter de l'unité canadienne, à peu près cinq cents personnes de diverses positions sociales-chefs de communauté, citoyens intéressés, jeunes, politiciens et hauts fonctionnaires. Rien que la réunion d'un groupe si formidable qui devait étudier l'unité canadienne indique combien le sujet est sérieux. Ceci reflète en plus le souci profond de la part d'un tiers de la population canadienne dont les origines ne sont ni anglaises ni françaises qui'ils ne tolèrent plus qu'on les considère comme des spectateurs dans ce débat trop important. Grâce à ce congrès des "groupes ethniques" ou les "immigrants" ont démontré qu'ils s'intéressent fortement au développement de l'avenir du Canada, qu'ils tiennent à participer au processus en ce qui concerne cet avenir à souhaiter.

Le thème du congrès est intitulé "L'Unité dans la Diversité". Dans le cadre de ce thème, ce congrès a réuni les idées de tous et chacun dans la discussion sur l'unité à un moment où on se pose des questions sur notre unité nationale. Des questions qui encadrent le programme d'études dans les écoles, l'organisation et l'emploi des media, une constitution canadienne pour tous les Canadiens, l'implication d'une confédération dans une société multiculturelle, multiraciale et multilinguale ont été identifiées, traitées de différentes perspectives et mises en évidence à mesure qu'elles sont liées au renforcement de l'unité nationale et la planification d'une nouvelle direction nationale. Bref, la question principale ce n'est pas si l'unité est souhaitable ou possible mais comment la maintenir et la fortifier à l'intérieur d'une diversité riche et dynamique.

Au fur et mesure que le congrès progressait, il était évident que l'unité canadienne ne pourrait pas s'accomplir par des arguments ou des débats techniques, historiques ou légaux. L'unité canadienne devrait être préservée et encouragée par une compréhension mutuelle et un respect pour les vastes ressources culturelles qui se trouvent dans chaque communauté canadienne et dans le foyer de chaque citoyen. Le caractère culturel complexe de cette nation donne des dimensions diverses à notre vie nationale. La force de notre unité nationale se trouve dans une découverte et une exploration persistante de ces dimensions.

Un des résultats importants de ce congrès est la présentation unie d'une série de résolutions sur l'unité canadienne. Étant donné que les exposés et les discussions compris dans ce livre donnent des points de vue individuels, divers et quelquefois opposés, les résolutions représentent l'unanimité et le désir commun de tous les participants. Un deuxième résultat très important et qui reflète peut-être l'ambiance congéniale de la réunion plénière c'est la décision, prise à l'unanimité, d'établir un comité permanent qui traitera du thème "L'Unité dans la Diversité" pour avancer les buts de la conférence et pour réaliser les maintes bonnes idées qui ont été exprimées. Actuellement ce nouveau comité est en fonction et les renseignements sur ses membres et ses projets se trouvent à la page 114.

Afin de publier les résultats du congrès quelques membres du comité ont fait des efforts pour collationner les copies des discours donnés par les conférenciers ainsi que les enregistrements. On voulait que toutes les idées exprimées, dialogues et discussions soient réunis autant que possible. Nous sommes heureux d'une réponse enthousiaste. Pourtant il y a des lacunes inévitables. Quelques-uns des discours n'étaient pas disponibles dans leur forme écrite et même si on a fait un effort pour les enregistrer toutes les démarches du congrès l'enregistrement n'était pas parfait. Même quand le discours était enregistré correctement il y a eu des bévues. Par exemple nous regrettons de ne pas pouvoir inclure le discours sincère et incisif du Dr. Smith. Il a parlé spontanément ce qui répondait très bien à l'ambiance. Malheureusement une secrétaire a effacé par accident l'enregistrement de son discours. Il manque trois discours; c'est regrettable.

Ce qui était typique pendant ce congrès, chaque conférencier utilisait un style personnel et unique. L'éditeur tient à préserver le bouquet de chaque discours et à la fois à s'assurer de la lisibilité et de l'ordre des idées dans la présentation. Nous devons beaucoup à ceux et à celles qui ont encouragé et aidé cette publication importante. Nous croyons qu'elle sera lue par un grand nombre de personnes et sérieusement par tous les Canadiens qui sont inquiets de notre avenir. Le crédit est dû à ceux et à celles qui ont organisé le congrès, conférenciers et participants qui ont démontré leur profond intérêt témoigné par leur présence au congrès. Cet intérêt sera le nerf de la prise de forme de notre avenir canadien.

S.L. KONG
R. RAY

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RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS the geographical and political unity of the Canadian federation is an historical fact; and

WHEREAS we recognize Quebec as a seat of unique culture; and

WHEREAS Canada without Quebec would be a national tragedy;

BE IT RESOLVED that we fully and unequivocally support all ventures: constitutional, economic, and cultural to promote the identity and unity of one Canada.

WHEREAS the British North America Act does not reflect the multicultural reality of Canada's present population; and whereas the preservation of one Canada is being viewed only in Anglophone and Francophone terms;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Constitution be amended to safeguard the rights of all peoples; and further, that a Bill of Rights be entrenched in the Constitution; and

BE IT RESOLVED that the question of the Unity of Canada not be settled without due regard for and consultation with the multicultural groups.

In order to achieve the above, we recommend the following procedures:

WHEREAS the issue regarding National Unity has hitherto involved only the Anglo-Celtic and French segments of the population;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Conference recognizes the right of other peoples to be involved in the debate.

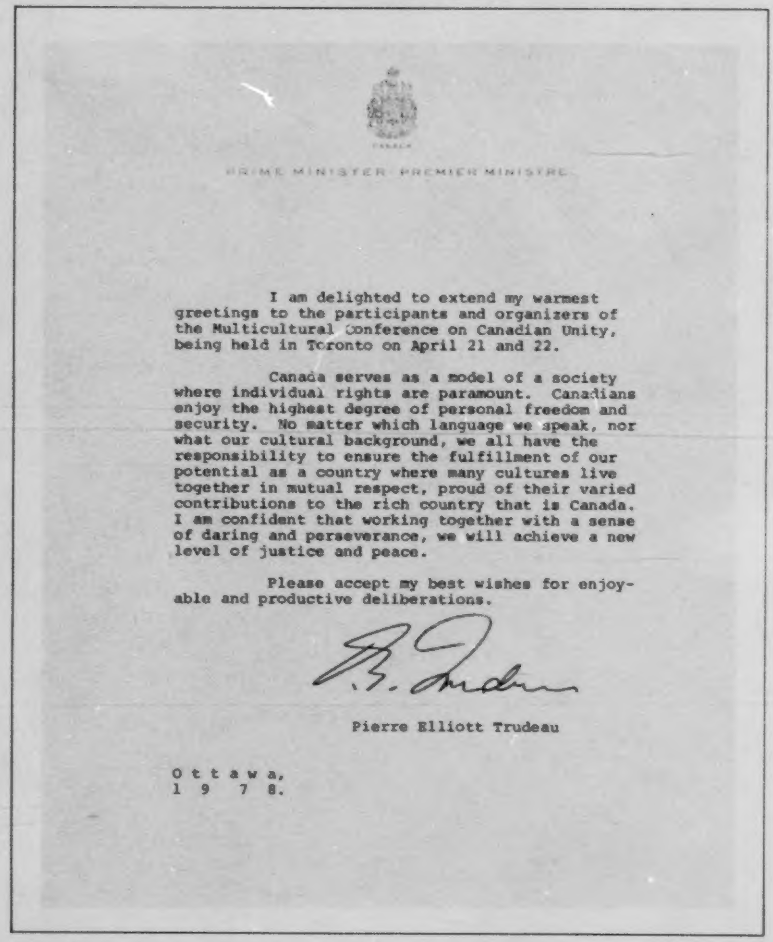
WHEREAS all these peoples desire to have a voice in the future of Canada; and

WHEREAS education is an unquestionably important influence on that future;

BE IT RESOLVED that provincial authorities ensure that school curricula reflect the reality of the role that all peoples have played in building this country.

WHEREAS the Communications Media are instrumental in shaping a Canadian identity;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Media be encouraged to create an understanding of Canadian identity by reflecting the richness and pluralistic dimensions of Canadian culture.



PRIME MINISTER · PREMIER MINISTRE

I am delighted to extend my warmest greetings to the participants and organizers of the Multicultural Conference on Canadian Unity, being held in Toronto on April 21 and 22.

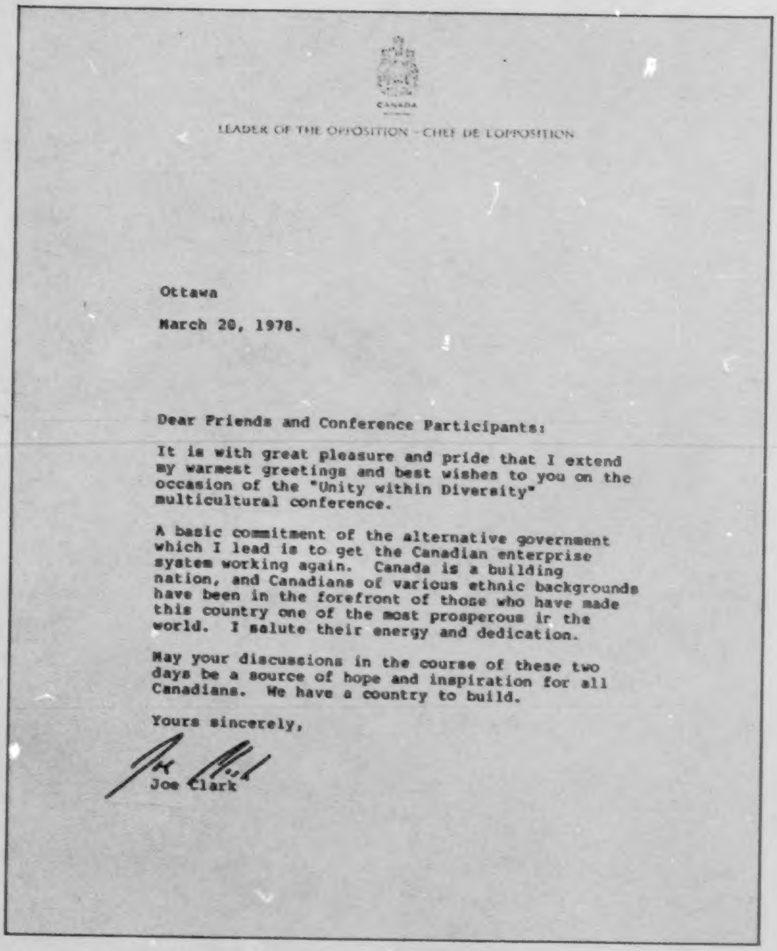
Canada serves as a model of a society where individual rights are paramount. Canadians enjoy the highest degree of personal freedom and security. No matter which language we speak, nor what our cultural background, we all have the responsibility to ensure the fulfillment of our potential as a country where many cultures live together in mutual respect, proud of their varied contributions to the rich country that is Canada. I am confident that working together with a sense of daring and perseverance, we will achieve a new level of justice and peace.

Please accept my best wishes for enjoyable and productive deliberations.

P. Trudeau

Pierre Elliott Trudeau

Ottawa,
1978.



CANADA

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION - CHEF DE L'OPPOSITION

Ottawa

March 20, 1978.

Dear Friends and Conference Participants:

It is with great pleasure and pride that I extend my warmest greetings and best wishes to you on the occasion of the "Unity within Diversity" multicultural conference.

A basic commitment of the alternative government which I lead is to get the Canadian enterprise system working again. Canada is a building nation, and Canadians of various ethnic backgrounds have been in the forefront of those who have made this country one of the most prosperous in the world. I salute their energy and dedication.

May your discussions in the course of these two days be a source of hope and inspiration for all Canadians. We have a country to build.

Yours sincerely,

Joe Clark

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES
CANADA

OFFICE OF THE LEADER
NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BUREAU DU CHEF
NOUVEAU PARTI DEMOCRATIQUE

Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0A6
April 17, 1978

Mr. Alex Chumak
Conference Co-Chairman
Multicultural Conference on
Canadian Unity
111 Indian Road Crescent
Toronto, Ontario
M6P 2G4

Dear Mr. Chumak:

I am writing in reply to your letter of March 21st in which you invited me to attend the Multicultural Conference in Toronto.

Unfortunately, my prior commitments prevent my being able to attend.

In response to your request, I would like to make the following statement.

Since the birth of Canada in 1867, our country has gradually built an enviable reputation among the nations of the world. Our pride in Canada is enhanced by our consciousness of the various cultures that have been woven together and form the basis of Canadian life.

We in the New Democratic Party respect the significant contribution that has been made by the native peoples in the development of Canada and, therefore, we believe it is absolutely vital that they be included in any discussions of multiculturalism. We support their demands for more equitable treatment and feel that positive action must be taken towards recognizing their special heritage and rights as the original inhabitants of this country.

We in the N.D.P. also believe that our federal system provides the legal foundation for the united development of the English and French speaking communities that associated to form the Canadian partnership, as well as the other ethnic groups which later made Canada their home.

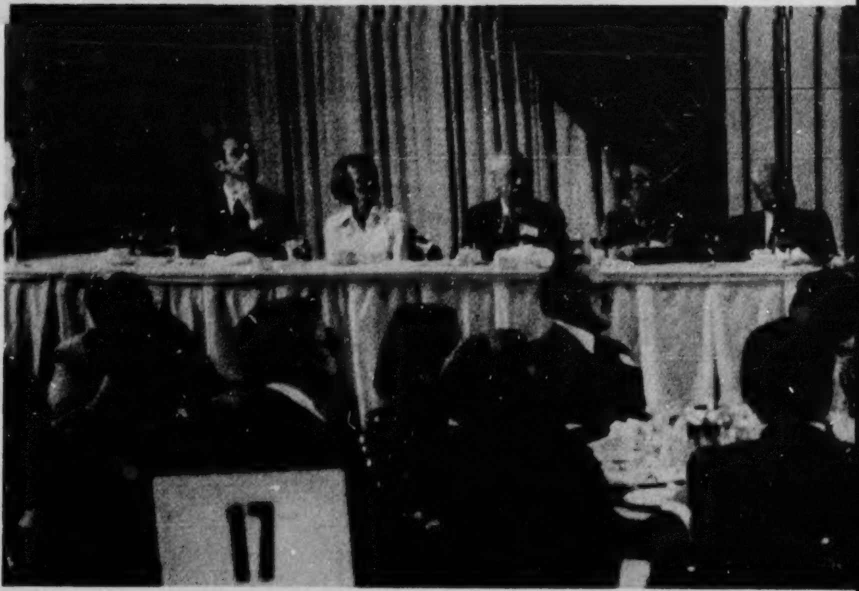
The fact that the French-speaking community has survived in Canada has resulted in an atmosphere conducive to the preservation of the linguistic and cultural integrity of the other ethnic cultures which now play such a significant role in Canadian life.

Canada has been enriched by the infusion of the many cultural and linguistic strains that are now so much a part of our country. True Canadian identity lies in honouring these traditions and weaving them further into the texture of the country. The N.D.P. fully respects and will protect the traditions and cultures of Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds.

I would like to wish you the best of success with your conference.

Yours sincerely,

Edward Broadbent



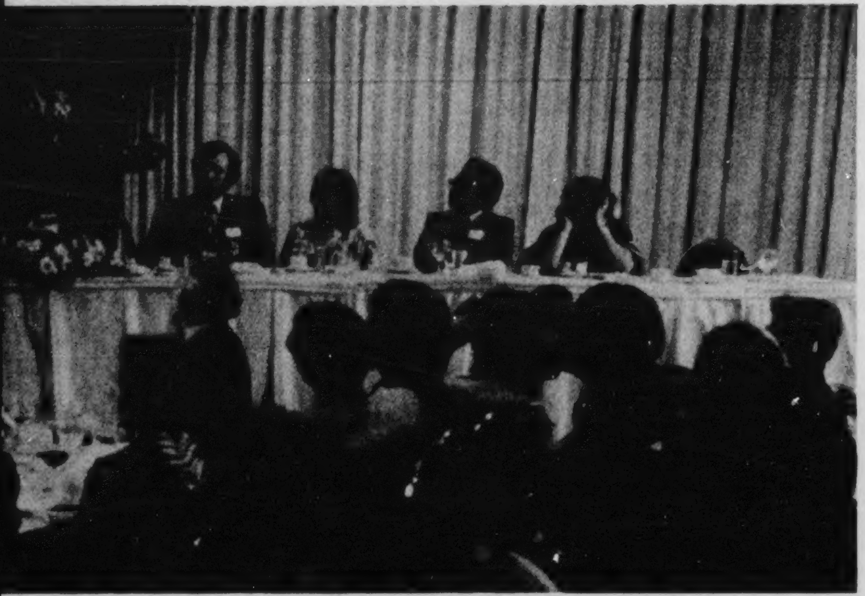
OPENING ADDRESS

ALEX CHUMAK
Co-Chairman, Multicultural Conference on Canadian Unity

Ladies and gentlemen!

I should first of all like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have shown concern for Canadian Unity, i.e., all of you. We have approximately 41 cultural groups here; that is very rewarding, and very impressive. On behalf of the organizers, and the Planning Committee, may I say how gratified we are to see all of you here to-night.

When we started organizing this conference, the question: why a multicultural conference on Canadian Unity, was often asked. The answer, however, is relatively simple – if we consider the facts. Approximately one third of our country's population is comprised of people whose background is neither English nor



French. Secondly, we, as Canadians of different backgrounds cannot stand by idly while our country is going through a crisis. Thirdly, we want to participate actively in the decision-making process of the future of our country.

Obviously we are Canadians, and as such, we have a stake and investment in this country. Our deep concern is to preserve it by doing whatever we can to foster national unity. To this end, we have organized a program with the anticipation that it will provide a forum for the people of various multicultural backgrounds to discuss their Canadian identity which very often is questionable. Very often it is difficult to find out who we are and where we fit in the Canadian Mosaic. At the same time and by the same token our objective is to promote national unity.

The theme we have chosen for the conference is *Unity within Diversity*. Despite our various backgrounds and origins all of us have a common denominator: being Canadian and living in Canada. Our heritage only contributes to a vast cultural depository that we call Canada. But you and I, and everybody here tonight makes up this country called Canada.

We have selected a program that will address itself to this theme. Our distinguished speaker (who will shortly be introduced) will also address himself to some of the issues related to this theme. In the panel discussion tomorrow, the focus will be to establish the role multicultural groups can play in promoting national unity. The Youth panel will be a highlight. Young people will express their views since the future of our country depends on our young people. Professor Tarnopolsky will chair the most important session: the presentation of resolutions and where do we go from here? Far too often, a conference is held, people come, socialize, and leave. What we want to establish, what we should like to establish is something of an on-going nature – where we can have an on-going input.

In conclusion, it is critical that we Canadians of different backgrounds become involved in Canadian issues. Unfortunately and regretfully the syndrome that has been too often identified with us is the eating and dancing syndrome. Far too often we obtain a grant, a subsidy to hold a folk festival, and that ostensibly is the end of our identity. We must shatter that image and label.

The underlying theme of our conference is that we as Canadians, must get involved in the real issues, in the significant issues that will effect our country and our lives.

We are here to speak in one voice, and we are here to be heard. We are attempting to get involved in the decision-making process of our country.

5

FEDERALISM, MULTICULTURAL GROUPS AND CANADIAN UNITY

HON. NORMAN CAFIK
Minister of State for Multiculturalism

It is a great honour for me to be here tonight, particularly because this is the first Multicultural Conference on National Unity, that I know of, ever to be held in Canada. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate most sincerely the Conference Committee, our two Co-chairmen, the Ukrainian Canadian community, and all those who have worked so very hard to make this possible.

To talk about national unity is very difficult for me, and I think for all Canadians. When I was last considering issuing some advertisements in the ethnic press of Canada, I wanted to develop a theme of multiculturalism and national unity. Some of our creative advertisers proposed the following advertisement: a picture of a rocking chair with no one in it. The caption under it was something like – "It is time that we got off our behinds and did something about national unity." Then I read the copy underneath it and I discarded the ad, because it was asking everybody to be interested in national unity, and to really get out of their chairs and to do something about national unity, but nowhere in the ad had we suggested the slightest thing that really ought to be done. Therein lies one of the significant problems that we have in Canada. What in practical terms can individuals, millions of us as Canadians, do to promote national unity?

One of the first things we must do is understand what Canada is. There is really not much point in unifying something if you don't understand what that something is. I do not propose, in a few remarks, to identify all the significant elements of Canada, and what Canada means to each and every one of us, because it means many different things to all of us. But surely there are some things that we all hold in common in relationship to this great country.

First of all, in Canada we live in a free country. Canada is a constitutional democracy founded under a federal system. We have a policy of two official languages which has grown out of our history, our Constitution and our legislation. We are also a multicultural society with thirty percent of our population from backgrounds that are neither French nor English. Let's look at two or three of these elements and see what they mean in relationship to national unity.

We are a free society, free in individual and collective terms. Freedom, in the multicultural context, means that when we or our forefathers emigrated to Canada, we were allowed to retain our cultural background, our traditions, our values and our heritage. We didn't have to check them at the border like a piece of baggage, because multiculturalism and the nature of our society rest in the freedom of our people. We are a nation based on immigration, and even our own native peoples at one time immigrated to our great land.

Freedom is axiomatic to all these equations. On the question of bilingualism, the basis of the Government of Canada's policy is that Canadians ought to have free choice to speak one or the other of the official languages, with no coercion of anyone. That grows from our concept of the free nature of our country.

The second point is that we are a democratic society. In a democracy the public itself, through the ballot box, determines the governments and ultimately determines the policies under which we operate. That means that if the country is to remain a unified nation, then we must have the support of the people in a democracy. So ultimately, the question of national unity is not a question of government policy, is not a question of government decree; it is not a question of constitutions, although all of those are important – it is a question of relationships between human beings in terms of human understanding of each other's rights, privileges, and obligations.

When we talk about Canada within the dimension of two official languages, it is important that we understand our history. An accommodation was reached between two linguistic groups. The people of French background had a desire to remain separate from the United States so that they could retain their culture, their language, their traditions, their religion and so on. The people of English background wanted to retain their allegiance to the Crown. Both for differing reasons entered into a marriage contract which was finally sanctified in the British North America act, and helped establish our Canadian nation.

It is imperative that we understand that this accommodation culminating in the birth of Canada does not impinge upon the rights of any other Canadian. What it does is preserve the rights that those Canadians wanted preserved, and not in a short narrow time-frame, but for the future of this country.

The fourth dimension of Canada is its multicultural dimension.

Now, bilingualism stems from the Constitutional background of Canada. Multiculturalism is a pragmatic policy based on the reality of Canada. About thirty percent of our people are neither of English nor of French background. In a free and democratic society where we believe in the principles of equality and equal opportunity for all Canadians, it is essential that we understand that all Canadians regardless of background have an equal contribution to make to this country and have an equal stake in the future of this country.

What are the dimensions of the unity problem? Let's look at two or three of them. I don't want to be partisan in any way. This issue has been treated in too partisan a way by too many in this country. Surely if there is one thing that should tie all politicians together, it is the desire to keep this country together. If there has ever been a reason why we should set aside our concerns for our own political hides, our own futures, it is for this reason. Canada as a unified nation is more important than any party in political office. It is the cause that we must concern ourselves with now above every other cause.

We have one amongst us, a Premier of a province, who advocates the breakup of this country. There is only one place to deal with that question and that is in the ballot boxes of Quebec. That is where Levesque will get what is coming to him from the people of Quebec who intend to stay in a unified Canada.

There is another dimension. In constitutional terms, some people think that we could solve all the problems of national unity if we were to get rid of Levesque and make some modest accommodations in the Constitution. That is not true. The problem that we deal with is not so shallow as to be solved in such a way.

We need constitutional reform. Our Constitution is well over a hundred years old. Times have changed a great deal. Relationships between provinces and the Federal Government have changed. The levers of power and economy have changed dramatically in the last ten years, never mind in the last hundred and ten years. There is need for adjustment in order to have more cooperative federalism in Canada, so that all provinces have a greater input to, and a better relationship with, the Federal Government. The Prime Minister of Canada has been working toward that achievement, as we all know, through the recent meeting of First Ministers.

In addition to that, we need to change the Constitution with regard to certain fundamental human rights, that are more deeply ingrained in our human spirit than any given law of Parliament, but which need to be enshrined in the Constitution itself.

Now, it is difficult in a moment or two to outline all of the things that I personally think ought to be enshrined in the Constitution. Fundamentally, I think we need a Bill of Rights to ensure that the rights of Canadian citizens cannot be withheld in the future. That is not what has happened historically. You only have to look at the recent past in the Second World War where, under the pressure of war, the rights of Canadian citizens were trampled on by a government of that time. I don't think that should be allowed to happen in the future. If anything, Canadian citizenship ought to mean that we are equal Canadians, and that our rights will remain intact under all circumstances.

I think we need, in a clearer way, within the body of the Constitution, the linguistic rights of Canadians set down to ensure freedom of choice, and that there is no intimidation of any Canadian to speak one of the two official languages above the other. The right to be ourselves, to retain our own backgrounds, our own culture, and our own values, surely ought to be enshrined in a constitution. So in my view, Multiculturalism is a matter that should be dealt with in the Constitution itself, because that is the nature of our country, and it is that element that gives so many Canadians so much pride.

Obviously we have to deal in the Constitution with all of our civil and political rights. We need a constitution that provides a balance to the relationship of power between all levels of government, and we need a constitution that ensures the liberty of our citizens for all time.

Another area which I think we must look at with respect to national unity is the problem of perceptions. It is what I call the great national perceptual handicap. For example, I was in a major western city a few months ago, speaking to an editorial board about Multiculturalism. The editor-in-chief said to me, "Mr. Minister, what are you going to do in relationship to this problem in Western Canada, this alienation between the West and Ottawa, and furthermore, what are you going to do about national unity?" I replied, "What are you going to do about it? If you made a list of every law and every policy direction in the Government of Canada that you wanted changed, and said, 'Cafik, you go to Ottawa, and you pass all these new laws, change these policy directions, and that would solve the problems of Western Canada,' you know, and I know, that if I went back, and did all of that in one week, all of you would print an article in your paper saying, 'We're sick and tired of being controlled by Ottawa.' You'd say that an election was coming along, and that nobody loved you."

The fact of the matter is that there are always problems, but even if they were solved, we have psyched ourselves up to such an extent that we don't give credit when it is due, and instead look for other problems to blame on Ottawa. There are prejudices of so many people in Canada that are not conducive to national unity in my view.

We have the same problem in linguistic terms. How often do you hear somebody saying, "That government's trying to ram French down our throat." I ask, "Who's trying to do what?" The Government of Canada is trying to make sure that Levesque doesn't ram French down the throats of English speaking Canadians in Quebec. Now why on earth would we want to turn around then and ram French down your throats in Ontario, Alberta or British Columbia – another example of a perceptual handicap. Let us begin to look at some of the real hard facts, and we will find that the nation that we live in is not as bad as some would have us believe. We will find, once the facts are examined, that many of the problems that stood forward in our minds are not problems in reality, but problems in terms of perception.

The same is true with Multiculturalism. You talk about Multiculturalism, and many Canadians of French background say, "It will destroy our position in Canada and therefore we are against it." Many Canadians of Anglo-Celtic background say, "We don't like Multiculturalism because it means cultural isolation. It means cultural ghettos. It means that we are going to have twenty languages in Canada instead of two. It's divisive." The fact of the matter is that it is not divisive – it is based on a principle of human understanding.

What we need most in Canada to have a unified nation is human understanding. We need to overcome our own prejudices. We must learn to live together and set aside our own superior attitudes in relationship to others.

Right across Canada I have met with ethnocultural communities and they are very concerned about national unity. One thing I'd like to say, because of my close relationship with you, is that if you want a unified Canada, first of all unify yourselves.

Within almost every ethnocultural community in Canada, you end up with this group and that group not talking to each other. We want to work together; well we must work together at home first. I know all of you can work together in a unified way within your own unicultural group, and then progress to creative encounters like this evening – a significant meeting of forty ethnocultural communities. Get along, share with each other your cultural background, your richness, your vitality, and everyone of us and this whole nation will be better off as a consequence.

It's imperative to this country that multiculturalism does survive and it's absolutely essential that all of you, and the media of the ethnocultural community learn to understand each other, and once we understand each other, we then can become a leaven for national unity. We can begin then to become a bridge of human understanding with the majority communities. We who want to preserve our own backgrounds, our own traditions, surely can understand the similarity in the deep desire of the Canadians of French background, who feel threatened in Canada, to preserve their language, their culture, and their traditions. If we understand that, then we should be able to share that understanding, because that's what this problem is really all about – Canadians learning to understand Canadians, of whatever background.

Some people ask why these problems weren't dealt with years ago. That's a very good question, except that in political terms you can never deal with a problem before its time has come.

When Prime Minister Trudeau tried to deal with the question of National Unity ten years ago everybody said, "What's he talking about?" and fell asleep. If I wanted to give a speech on National Unity in my riding, prior to Levesque, everybody said, "Why bore us with this sort of thing? It's unimportant. Let's get down to talking about the Pickering Airport or something else."

Levesque has done Canadians a kind of backhanded favour. He has brought this issue out into the forefront, and now all Canadians know the dimensions and the importance of that equation. Now, we ought to be doing a few things to correct the problem.

First of all, in relationship to our educational institutions, it is evident that they have failed in this country, to bring to our consciousness the nature of our society and the nature of our people.

I think it is also true that our media, and I'm not saying consciously, perhaps inadvertently, have failed to reflect to Canadians what the Canadian reality is in terms of our diversity, in terms of our ethnocultural backgrounds. Stereotypes have been overplayed by advertisers. It is imperative that the media, that all of our institutions, begin to exercise some responsibility in terms of their impact on society, in relationship to the broad questions of national unity and human interrelationships.

All of us have got to consciously realize that we are better off individually and collectively, economically, socially, linguistically, culturally, and in every dimension that I can think of, in a united Canada. All of us would be great losers if this country failed to stay together, and the first thing we have all got to do, is begin to understand each other.

T. S. Eliot wrote something that I read when I was a young man, and I have never forgotten it. He spoke of Utopians dreaming of societies so perfect that men no longer needed to be good. I realized instinctively when I read that, that all the many ambitious ideas that I had in relationship to making the world a better place in which to live, all started in the heart.

We can't create, through legislation, good relationships between races and peoples. All we can do, not as a government, but as fellow citizens, is create conditions of understanding, mutual respect, and perhaps a little love. That's all that we can do, and there is nothing short of that that will unify any nation.

The real challenge that we face is not only domestic – it is international. If we cannot hold our own land together, one of the most privileged in the whole world, with its richness, with its physical diversity, with its cultural diversity, with two official languages, and only twenty some million people, if we can't pull it off and get along together, how can we expect the world to ever survive, with all of its hundreds of different countries, languages, and cultures. How do we expect the world to live in peace and harmony? The question that we face in Canada is a lot bigger than a Canadian problem. It is really the central problem that mankind has always faced – whether we can live together in a spirit of understanding.

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FÉDÉRALISME, GROUPES MULTICULTURELS ET UNITÉ CANADIENNE

L'HONORABLE NORMAN CAFIK

C'est pour moi un grand honneur, en même temps qu'un privilège, que de pouvoir prendre la parole ici ce soir et surtout, de pouvoir participer à ce qui est, si je ne m'abuse, la première conférence multiculturelle sur l'unité nationale organisée au Canada. Permettez-moi, à cet égard, d'adresser mes plus vives félicitations à la communauté canadienne-ukrainienne, au comité organisateur de la conférence, à nos deux coprésidents et à tous ceux qui, par leur dévouement, ont rendu possible la tenue de cette rencontre.

Il m'est très difficile, comme ce l'est sans doute pour tous les Canadiens, de parler d'unité nationale. La dernière fois que je me suis avisé de faire paraître quelques annonces dans la presse ethnique, j'ai pensé les axer sur le thème du multiculturalisme et de l'unité nationale. Certains de nos agents de publicité à l'esprit imaginatif nous ont alors proposé un placard publicitaire où l'on ne voyait qu'une berceuse vide et où la légende disait à peu près ceci: "Debout tout le monde! Il est temps que nous fassions quelque chose pour l'unité du pays." J'ai donc lu d'un peu plus près le texte de l'annonce, et j'ai refusé d'en autoriser la publication, parce qu'on y demandait à tout le monde d'adhérer à la cause de l'unité nationale, de vraiment faire quelque chose pour la défendre, mais nulle part on ne disait quoi au juste. Nous étions encore une fois aux prises avec ce vieux problème, ce problème de toujours: que peut donc faire, dans la pratique, le simple particulier, le Canadien moyen, pour promouvoir l'unité nationale?

D'abord, il faut bien comprendre ce qu'est le Canada. En effet, à quoi bon tenter d'unir les éléments d'un ensemble quand on ne sait pas très bien ce que celui-ci représente? Il n'est pas dans mes intentions de brosser ici en quelques mots un tableau complet de notre pays, ou de dire ce que son existence signifie pour chacun de nous, les Canadiens ayant à cet égard des idées bien différentes. Par delà cependant cette diversité d'opinions et de points de vue, il y a certainement des aspects de ce grand pays que tous nous ne pouvons manquer de reconnaître.

Le Canada, c'est avant tout un pays libre; c'est aussi une démocratie constitutionnelle établie dans le cadre d'un système fédéral. Notre histoire, notre constitution et notre législation reconnaissent l'existence de deux langues officielles. C'est en troisième lieu, une société multiculturelle, puisque que 30 p. cent de la population est d'origine autre que française ou anglaise. Examinons maintenant deux ou trois de ces éléments dans l'optique de l'unité nationale.

Sur le plan individuel, comme sur le plan collectif, nous appartenons à une société libre. La liberté, du point de vue du multiculturalisme, cela veut dire, pour nous-mêmes ou pour nos ancêtres, d'avoir pu venir s'installer au Canada et d'avoir pu y conserver traditions, valeurs, partrimoine et traits culturels d'origine. Nos caractères distinctifs ont franchi librement, avec nous, la frontière canadienne, le multiculturalisme, comme d'ailleurs le caractère même de notre société, étant nés de la liberté du peuple canadien. Notre nation est une nation d'immigrants: en fait, même nos concitoyens autochtones, pour peu que l'on remonte le cours de l'histoire, ont été à un moment donné des immigrants.

La liberté est par conséquent la pierre angulaire de l'édifice canadien. Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant que la politique de bilinguisme du gouvernement procède de cette notion, c'est-à-dire qu'elle se fonde sur le libre choix laissé aux Canadiens d'user, sans contrainte aucune, de l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles. Cette latitude découle de l'idée que nous faisons de la liberté dans notre pays.

En second lieu, nous constituons une société démocratique. Parce qu'elle reconnaît le principe du suffrage universel, la démocratie permet au peuple de choisir ses gouvernants et en dernière analyse, de décider des grandes orientations politiques du pays. En d'autres termes, si la nation veut rester unifiée, il faut que ceux qui ont la charge de la guider bénéficient au préalable de son appui. En somme, la question de l'unité nationale n'est ni un problème de politique gouvernementale, ni une affaire de décret officiel, ni même une question de constitution, bien que tous ces éléments aient leur importance. C'est une affaire de relations entre êtres humains, c'est-à-dire de compréhension de ce que sont les droits, les privilèges et les obligations de chacun.

Quand nous parlons du Canada en nous reférant à la politique des deux langues officielles, il est important de bien comprendre notre histoire. Deux groupes linguistiques ont conclu un arrangement: les Canadiens d'ascendance française ne souhaitaient pas se joindre aux États-Unis, et ce, afin de pouvoir conserver leur culture, leur langue, leurs traditions, leur religion, etc. Quant aux Canadiens d'origine anglaise, ils voulaient rester fidèles à la Couronne britannique. Les deux groupes, pour des raisons différentes, ont donc conclu une union qui a finalement été sanctionnée par l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, contribuant ainsi à l'édification de la nation canadienne.

Il est essentiel de bien comprendre que cet arrangement, dont le Canada est issu, ne restreint en rien les droits des autres Canadiens. Il vise plutôt à défendre les droits que les Canadiens d'alors voulaient voir préservés, pour l'avenir du pays et non simplement pour une courte période bien définie.

La quatrième dimension du Canada, c'est son caractère multiculturel. Or, si le bilinguisme découle d'antécédents constitutionnels, le multiculturalisme représente avant tout l'expression concrète d'une réalité politique. En effet, quelque 30 p. cent de la population est d'ascendance autre qu'anglaise ou française. Parce que nous vivons dans une société libre et démocratique qui reconnaît à tous ses éléments un même statut et qui défend le principe de l'égalité des chances pour tous, il est essentiel de bien comprendre que tous les Canadiens, de quelque origine qu'ils soient, ont un rôle d'égale importance à jouer dans l'édification de ce pays et le choix de son avenir.

Le problème de l'unité se présente sous divers aspects: peut-être pourrions-nous en examiner deux ou trois. Je ne veux nullement ici être de parti pris; trop nombreux déjà sont ceux qui, dans notre pays, adoptent des attitudes par trop partisanes lorsqu'ils abordent cette question. S'il y a une chose qui devrait rapprocher les hommes politiques, de quelque horizon qu'ils soient, ce serait le désir de sauvegarder l'unité du pays. C'est le moment ou jamais de taire nos querelles politiques ou personnelles et de nous consacrer à la tâche, autrement plus essentielle que celle de porter un parti politique ou un autre au pouvoir, de garder le Canada uni. La cause de l'unité nationale doit primer toutes les autres et être un sujet de préoccupation pour tous et chacun.

Nous avons actuellement, dans une province, un premier ministre qui prône ouvertement le démantèlement du pays. Il n'y a qu'un moyen de résoudre ce problème: le vote des Québécois. En effet, quand ils iront aux urnes, ceux qui, parmi ces derniers, voudront que le Canada reste uni n'hésiteront à imposer leur volonté à René Lévesque. Le problème a une autre dimension. En termes constitutionnels, certains pensent qu'il suffirait, pour préserver l'unité nationale, de se débarasser de Lévesque et de modifier légèrement la constitution. Cela n'est pas vrai, car le problème qui se pose à nous ne peut être résolu si simplement.

Nous avons besoin d'une réforme constitutionnelle: la constitution a plus de cent ans et les temps ont changé. Les relations entre les provinces et le gouvernement fédéral ne sont plus les mêmes et, sans vouloir remonter aux origines, on peut assurément dire que les forces politiques et économiques se sont transformées radicalement au cours des dix dernières années. Il faut donc en arriver à des accomodements si l'on veut instaurer au pays un fédéralisme qui autorise une plus grande coopération et de meilleures relations entre le gouvernement fédéral et l'ensemble des provinces. Le premier ministre du Canada s'est consacré à cette tâche, comme nous le savons tous, lors de la récente conférence des premiers ministres.

Nous devons en outre apporter des amendements à la constitution de façon à assurer le respect de certains droits fondamentaux de la personne, ancrés plus profondément en nous que n'importe quelle loi du Parlement certes, mais qu'il importe néanmoins de consacrer solennellement dans la charte du pays.

Il est difficile d'exposer brièvement tous les droits qui, selon moi, devraient être garantis par la constitution. Essentiellement, je pense qu'il nous faut une charte des droits de la personne pour éviter que les citoyens canadiens ne soient privés de leurs droits à l'avenir. Cela s'est produit dans le passé: qu'on se rappelle seulement la Seconde Guerre mondiale, au cours de laquelle les droits des citoyens canadiens ont été piétinés par les gouvernants sous la pression des évènements. Il ne faudrait pas que cela se reproduise. En fait, être citoyen du Canada, cela devrait signifier l'égalité pour tous et le droit au même traitement en toutes circonstances.

À mon avis, il faut définir plus clairement les droits linguistiques des Canadiens, dans la constitution, de manière à garantir la liberté du choix et à faire en sorte qu'aucun citoyen ne soit forcé de parler l'une des langues officielles plutôt que l'autre. Il importe en outre de consacrer officiellement le droit d'être nous-mêmes et de préserver nos traditions, notre culture et nos valeurs. Ainsi, j'estime que le multiculturalisme devrait faire l'objet de certaines dispositions de la constitution parce que c'est l'essence même de notre pays et que ce caractère fait la fierté d'un grand nombre de Canadiens.

Il va de soi que la constitution doit garantir tous les droits civils et politiques. Il nous faut une constitution qui établisse un rapport de forces bien précis entre tous les ordres de gouvernement et qui assure à jamais la liberté à tous les citoyens du pays.

Un autre élément qu'il convient d'examiner, en parlant d'unité nationale, c'est la façon dont les gens perçoivent la situation. Il y a à ce niveau ce que j'appellerais un véritable problème national". Ainsi, me trouvant il y a quelques mois dans une grande ville de l'Ouest, j'eus l'occasion de discuter de multiculturalisme avec l'équipe de rédaction d'un journal. Le rédacteur en chef me demanda: "Monsieur le ministre, qu'allez-vous faire au sujet de ce problème qui existe dans l'Ouest du Canada, je veux parler de ce sentiment d'aliénation qu'éprouve cette région du pays vis-à-vis d'Ottawa, et d'autre part, que comptez-vous faire pour l'unité nationale?" Je répondis: "Qu'est-ce que je vais faire à ce sujet? Si vous dressiez une liste de toutes les lois et politiques du gouvernement canadien que vous aimeriez voir modifier et que vous me disiez: "Monsieur le ministre, allez à Ottawa pour faire adopter toutes ces lois et modifier ces politiques, et les problèmes de l'Ouest seront réglés", nous savons tous que si je retournais dans la capitale nationale et faisais tout cela en une semaine, vous vous empresseriez d'écrire dans votre journal: "Nous en avons assez des décisions unilatérales du gouvernement central." Vous diriez que les élections sont proches et que la cote de popularité du parti a baissé considérablement."

En fait, il y a toujours des problèmes, mais même lorsqu'ils sont résolus, nous ne nous en rendons pas compte, tant nous avons d'idées préconçues, et nous cherchons d'autres torts à imputer au gouvernement fédéral. À mon avis, un grand nombre de Canadiens ont des préjugés qui sont loin d'aider la cause de l'unité nationale.

On retrouve la même situation sur le plan linguistique. Combien de fois n'entendons-nous pas dire: "Le gouvernement essaie de nous faire avaler de force sa pilule, il veut nous obliger à parler français." Je vous le demande: "Qui essaie de faire quoi au juste?" Le gouvernement canadien veut simplement s'assurer que Lévesque ne forcera pas les anglophones du Québec à parler français. Pourquoi diable voudrions-nous ensuite nous retourner et vous imposer le français, à vous, habitants de l'Ontario, de l'Alberta ou de la Colombie-Britannique? Voilà un bon exemple de ce problème de la perception que j'évoquais tout à l'heure. Commençons par regarder la réalité en face et nous verrons que le pays où nous vivons n'est pas dans une situation aussi grave que certains voudraient nous le faire croire. Nous constaterons, après avoir examiné les faits, qu'un grand nombre de problèmes qui nous inquiètent n'ont pas de fondement dans la réalité, mais se situent au niveau de la perception des choses.

Il en va de même du multiculturalisme. Dès qu'on aborde cette question, beaucoup de Canadiens d'origine française s'exclament: "Cela nous fera perdre la place que nous occupons au pays; c'est pourquoi nous y sommes opposés", et il s'en trouve un bon nombre, parmi les Canadiens d'origine anglo-saxonne, pour faire observer: "Le multiculturalisme signifie l'isolement culturel, la formation de ghettos; cela veut dire que nous allons avoir vingt langues, au pays, au lieu de deux. C'est une source de division." En réalité, le multiculturalisme n'est pas une source de division; il repose sur le principe de la compréhension humaine.

C'est là une des principales conditions pour que le Canada soit un pays uni. Nous devons nous défaire de nos préjugés et apprendre à vivre ensemble et à nous débarrasser de cette attitude de condescendance que nous avons les uns envers les autres.

J'ai rencontré les collectivités ethnoculturelles de toutes les régions du Canada et je puis vous dire que l'unité nationale leur tient vraiment à cœur. Étant donné les liens étroits qui m'attachent à vous, je me permets de vous faire l'observation suivante: si vous voulez un Canada uni, commencez d'abord par serrer les coudes, chez vous.

Dans presque toutes les communautés ethnoculturelles du Canada il y a des groupes qui ne se parlent pas. Si nous voulons travailler ensemble, nous devons commencer par le faire d'abord chez nous. Je sais que vous pouvez tous vous unir pour travailler ensemble au sein de votre propre communauté et en arriver par le suite à des rencontres productives comme celle de ce soir – une réunion qui revêt toute sa signification, lorsqu'on sait qu'elle regroupe quelque quarante communautés ethnoculturelles. Je vous dis donc: rassemblez-vous, partagez votre patrimoine culturel, vos valeurs, votre vitalité, afin que chacun de nous et l'ensemble du pays s'en porte mieux.

Il est de toute nécessité pour le Canada que le multiculturalisme survive et il est absolument essentiel que vous tous et les médias de la communauté ethnoculturelle appreniez à vous comprendre. Une fois cet objectif atteint, nous pourrons alors contribuer à l'affermissement de l'unité nationale. Nous commencerons alors à établir des liens de compréhension mutuelle avec les groupes de la majorité. Nous qui voulons conserver notre identité, nos traditions, pouvons sûrement comprendre la similitude qui existe entre nous et les Canadiens d'origine française qui sentent leur culture menaçée au Canada et veulent à tout prix conserver leur langue, leur culture et leurs traditions. Si nous pouvons comprendre cela, nous devrions pouvoir partager cette connaissance parce que c'est là que réside tout le problème – les Canadiens doivent apprendre à comprendre leurs compatriotes, de quelque origine qu'ils soient.

Certaines personnes se demandent pourquoi on ne s'est jamais occupé de ce problème. C'est une très bonne question, mais en politique on ne peut jamais s'attacher à un problème avant qu'il ne se présente.

Lorsque le Premier ministre Trudeau a abordé la question de l'unité nationale il y a dix ans, tout le monde s'est demandé de quoi il parlait et personne ne s'est montré le moindrement intéressé. Si je m'étais avisé, avant l'arrivée au pouvoir de M. Lévesque, de prononcer dans ma circonscription électorale, un discours sur l'unité canadienne on m'aurait dit: "Pourquoi nous ennuyer avec cette question? Elle est sans importance. Parlons plutôt de l'aéroport Pickering ou d'autre chose."

Monsieur Lévesque nous a fait, si je puis dire, une faveur inattendue. Il a inscrit la question de l'unité canadienne au premier plan de l'actualité et à présent tous les Canadiens en connaissent l'étendue et l'importance. Il est temps que nous trouvions une solution au problème.

Tout d'abord, il est évident que nos établissements d'enseignement n'ont pas réussi à nous faire prendre conscience de la nature véritable de notre société et de notre peuple.

Je crois également que les médias, sans doute involontairement, n'ont pas réussi à dépeindre la réalité canadienne dans toute sa diversité et à nous donner une image fidèle de la multiplicité de ses aspects ethnoculturels. La publicité a abusé des stéréotypes. Il est impérieux que les médias, de même que toutes nos institutions commencent à faire preuve d'un certain sens des responsabilités, compte tenu de leur influence sur la société en ce qui concerne les grandes questions de l'unité nationale et des rapports intercommunautaires.

Nous devons tous prendre conscience du fait qu'il est plus avantageux pour nous, individuellement et collectivement, du point de vue économique, social, linguistique, culturel, bref à tous points de vue, de vivre dans un Canada uni. Nous aurions beaucoup à perdre de l'éclatement de la fédération canadienne. Pour empêcher cela, nous devons commencer par nous comprendre mutuellement.

Je me souviens encore de cette parole de T.S. Elliot que j'avais lue dans ma jeunesse et que je n'ai jamais pu oublier depuis. Il parlait des Utopistes qui rêvaient de sociétés tellement parfaites que les hommes n'auraient plus besoin d'être bons. En lisant cela, je me rendis compte instinctivement que toutes les idées ambitieuses que j'avais pour rendre le monde meilleur venaient du cœur.

Nous ne pouvons créer, par des lois et des règlements, de bons rapports entre les races et les peuples. Tout ce que nous pouvons faire, non pas en tant que gouvernants, mais comme citoyens, c'est d'instaurer un climat de compréhension, de respect mutuel, et peut-être aussi de chaleur humaine et d'amour. C'est tout ce que nous pouvons faire, et rien de moins pour unifier la nation.

Le défi que nous avons à relever ne se situe pas uniquement au niveau national – il a aussi une dimension internationale. Si nous ne pouvons garder le Canada uni, l'un des pays les plus privilégiés du monde, avec toutes ses richesses naturelles, sa diversité géographique, culturelle, ses deux langues officielles et ses vingt millions d'habitants et quelques seulement, si nous ne pouvons nous entendre, comment pouvons-nous nous imaginer que le monde survivra, avec ses centaines de pays, de langues et de cultures différentes? Comment le monde arrivera-t-il à vivre dans la paix et l'harmonie? Le problème auquel nous avons à faire face dépasse nos frontières. C'est à vrai dire le problème central de l'humanité – est-il possible de vivre ensemble dans un esprit de compréhension?

REMARKS ON CANADIAN UNITY

JOHN R. EVANS
President, University of Toronto

Let me begin by noting that I, too share a great sense of excitement and pleasure in seeing Canadians from more than 40 different ethnic backgrounds assembled here with a common purpose tonight. As a Canadian of Welsh background I feel obliged to give you a short lecture on the history and culture of Welsh Canadians.

During the past year as a member of the Task Force on Canadian Unity, I had the opportunity to review the history of the peoples who came to be described as the two founding nations at the time of Confederation. The French-speaking Canadians have been a much more homogeneous group, concentrated in one particular region of Canada and with a culture and tradition distinctive in Canada and quite separate from those of France. On the other hand, the appearance of the other people in the two founding nations theory of Confederation is quite different. It is no longer predominantly of British origin but reflects the mosaic of diverse cultural backgrounds represented here tonight. Furthermore, even at the time of Confederation the English-speaking society in Canada could hardly be classified as a nation, since its component groups had so many profound differences. The English were known for their culture and contribution to the sophistication of life; the Scots for their keen economic sense; the Irish for their wit and exuberance; and the Welsh – well it's hard to say. According to the Canadian historian Morton, the Welsh left no distinguishing mark on the development of Canada. In commenting on the diversity of the groups which composed Canadians of British origin, Morton went on to say that they had one thing in common: "As a group, they practised corruption with restraint".

My experiences with the Task Force on Canadian Unity and at the University of Toronto working with students from nearly every ethnic background represented here tonight, have led me to several conclusions which I would like to share with you. First, the young people who have come from all parts of the world to Canada during the last 10–15 years are the most impressive students I have encountered. For many of them, English, the language of instruction at school and at the University was not the

language of their home and many of them have had to reconcile conflicting values of an overseas heritage at home and the North American culture at school and at work. These students have demonstrated their will to be Canadians, to take advantage of the opportunities that are available in this country which were not available to them and to their parents in their homeland, and to succeed. From among these students will come the future leaders of our country. They epitomize the hope of this country and the theme of this conference: the achievement of unity in diversity.

The second observation which I would like to share with you relates to the hearings by the Task Force on Canadian Unity in each province of Canada. In the course of those hearings there were presentations by groups representing the diversity of interests in the communities. For the most part they represented a recital of problems, a litany of difficulties and a record of grievances going back more than 100 years. At the end of the hearings, one tended to come away with the feeling that Canada really was a rather unhappy and unsatisfactory place to live. But there was one striking exception to this negativity. In most of the hearings a panel representing multicultural groups came before the Task Force and while they spent some time on their differences, the bulk of their presentation was a positive view of Canada as a country which provided them with an opportunity to grow and prosper in a way that was matched by no other country in the world. This country offered freedom and opportunity; it offered a chance to make the transition from poverty and limited education to full participation in all aspects of the life of the community within one generation. None of these groups stated or implied that they had made a mistake when they chose Canada for their future and the future of their children.

The other group that impressed the Task Force with its positive outlook was youth. Students from high school and university displayed an openness, generosity of spirit and optimism about their ability to overcome the problems which have baffled previous generations. What was most striking was their spirit of friendliness to other people and to other regions – a willingness to embrace as a great asset the diversity of this country. Their concerns were linked to the opportunity to learn a second language and to travel to other parts of Canada to receive a better and more balanced education about this country, and to have the opportunity to meet, to know and to understand other Canadians.

The young, first generation Canadians with whom I talk, and I meet a great many of them through my work at the University, want to take pride in their past but at the same time make their future economic, social and cultural life with other Canadians as unhyphenated citizens. For them the critical questions are true equality of opportunity for participation and advancement in employment and in all aspects of social and political life. They also hope for more visible recognition of the extent and quality of the contributions that those citizens who are neither British nor French in origin have made and can make to the growth and development of Canada. These aspirations, however, do not in any way overshadow the sense of pride in their heritage and their hope that culture and traditions associated with ethnic background will be preserved, not only for the benefit of their families but also for the enrichment of the lives of all Canadians. To fulfill their aspirations it will be important to take active steps to preserve the culture and traditions of the different heritage groups and to provide full opportunity for their expression.

In the current controversy over national unity, a great deal of attention is given to the balance of power between federal and provincial levels of government and to reform of constitution. These elements are important but by themselves will not provide for us the sense of shared purpose and common understanding which is essential to real national unity. There is a great deal that we can do as individuals and as members of community groups, churches, school boards and other agencies, to achieve a better understanding of the background, the problems and the aspirations of other Canadians. Our formal educational system has served us less well than it ought to have in this respect. So much of the information on which we rely in our education is imported from other countries and therefore does not relate to our own background and our own needs. Furthermore, in our education we tend to take a rather parochial approach and there is appalling ignorance in each region of the nature of the other regions of Canada and in one people, of the other peoples of Canada. Young people in one province knew little or nothing about the characteristics of other regions of the country and the history of our native peoples, and the interpretation of history is completely different in the French and English language versions. It is important to a sense of common purpose for Canada that there be some common basis of information in our educational system and that we encourage strongly the exchange of students and of teachers among the regions of the country.

We criticize the media for their lack of attention to Canadian content and their failure to provide balance of programming from the various regions of this country. But programming by the media tends to reflect our own tastes. If we have insufficient interest and concern it is hardly reasonable to expect the communications media to develop it for us.

There is a great challenge before us and it is most important that it not be left entirely to governments. Each of us has a responsibility, individually and collectively through our organizations and associations, to promote understanding, tolerance and common purpose to create a better society for all Canadians. For its part, the society must offer true equality of rights and opportunity, regardless of language or ethnic background. There is a special obligation to those who have chosen in their lifetime to make Canada their home and their future. This sentiment was eloquently expressed by Thomas D'Arcy McGee in a speech which he made in Québec in 1862.

> Dear, most justly dear to every land beneath the sun are the children born in her bosom, and nursed upon her breast; but when the man of another country, wherever born, speaking whatever speech, holding whatever creed, seeks out a country to serve and honour and cleave to in weal or in woe, – when he heaves up the anchor of his heart from its old moorings, and lays at the feet of the mistress of his choice, his new country, all the hopes of his ripe manhood, he establishes by such devotion a claim to consideration, not second even to that of the children of the soil.

DISCOURS SUR L'UNITÉ CANADIENNE

JOHN R. EVANS

J'aimerais commencer par vous dire combien je partage votre enthousiasme et votre plaisir à voir réunis ici ce soir, dans un but commun, des Canadiens de plus de 40 groupes ethniques différents. Canadien d'origine galloise, moi-même, je ne peux pas m'empêcher de vous parler brièvement de l'histoire et de la culture des Gallo-Canadiens.

Au cours de l'année passée, en tant que membre de la Commission de l'unité canadienne, j'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier l'histoire des peuples que l'on a pris l'habitude d'appeler les deux nations fondatrices de la confédération. Les Canadiens de langue française constituent un groupe beaucoup plus homogène que leurs compatriotes de langue anglaise. Rassemblés dans une région particulière du Canada, ils ont une culture et des traditions qui les distinguent des autres Canadiens et aussi des Français. Par contre, l'autre peuple fondateur, suivant la théorie des deux nations fondatrices de la confédération, se présente d'une façon très différente. Il ne s'agit plus d'un groupe, en majorité britannique, mais plutôt d'une mosaique formée de gens des différentes origines culturelles qui sont représentées ici se soir. D'ailleurs même l'époque de la confédération, on ne pouvait guère considérer les Canadiens de langue anglaise comme une nation proprement dite car ils représentaient en fait plusieurs groupes ethniques très différents les uns des autres. On reconnaissait les Anglais à leur culture et à leurs contributions au raffinement du mode de vie, les Écossais à leur sens raffiné de l'économie, les Irlandais à leur sens de l'humour et à leur comportement exubérant et les Gallois à leur – eh bien! il est difficile de les qualifier. D'après l'historien canadien, Morton, les Gallois n'ont rien contribué de particulier à l'évolution du Canada. En parlant de la diversité des groupes qui constituaient les Canadiens d'origine britannique, Morton constate qu'ils avaient un trait commun: "En tant que groupe, ils usaient de la corruption avec modération".

Mes expériences en tant que membre de la Commission de l'unité canadienne et en tant que professeur et recteur de l'université de Toronto, où j'ai travaillé avec des étudiants venant de presque tous les groupes ethniques représentés ici ce soir, m'ont amené à tirer plusieurs conclusions dont j'aimerais vous faire part. D'abord, les jeunes gens, qui, au cours des dernières 10 à 15 années, sont venus de tous les coins du monde pour s'établir au Canada, sont les étudiants les plus impressionnants que j'aie jamais rencontrés. Pour beaucoup d'entre eux, l'anglais, qui est la langue d'instruction à l'école et à l'université, n'était pas la langue maternelle et dans de nombreux cas, ils ont dû également réconcilier les valeurs provenant de leur héritage d'outre-mer et prônées à la maison par leurs parents avec celles, tout autres, de la culture nord-américaine qui dominaient l'école et le monde du travail. Ces étudiants ont fait la preuve de leur volonté d'être Canadiens, de mettre à profit les possibilités qu'ils ont trouvé au Canada et qui leur avaient été refusées, ainsi qu'à leurs parents, dans leur pays d'origine, et de réussir. C'est parmi ces étudiants que nous allons trouver les leaders futurs de notre pays. Ils nous offrent l'image de nos espoirs; ils illustrent par excellence le thème de cette conférence, à savoir la réalisation de l'unité dans la diversité.

La deuxième observation dont j'aimerais vous faire part concerne les séances tenues par la Commission de l'unité canadienne dans chaque province du Canada. La commission a eu l'occasion d'entendre des présentations de la part de groupes représentant les divers intérêts de chaque collectivité. Pour la plupart, il s'agissait de longues listes de problèmes, de litanies de difficultés et d'énumérations de griefs remontant à plus de 100 ans. On avait tendance à sortir de chaque séance convaincu qu'il était vraiment difficile et désagréable de vivre au Canada. Dans cette ambiance de pessimisme, il existait, toutefois, une exception frappante. Lors de la plupart des séances de la commission, une représentation des groupes multiculturels a pris la parole. Bien que ces gens aient fait état de leurs différences, ils n'en ont pas moins consacré la plupart du temps dont ils disposaient à présenter une vue positive du Canada. C'est un pays qui leur a donné la possibilité de se réaliser et de réussir bien au-delà de ce qu'ils auraient pu faire dans n'importe quel autre pays du monde. Au Canada, ils ont trouvé la liberté, de nouvelles possibilités et les moyens de sortir de la pauvreté, de remédier aux désavantages d'une scolarité insuffisante et d'arriver ainsi, en une seule génération, à participer pleinement à tous les aspects de la vie de la collectivité. Aucun de ces groupes n'a déclaré ni laissé entendre qu'il s'est trompé en misant sur le Canada pour assurer son avenir et celui de ses enfants.

L'autre groupe dont le point de vue positif a beaucoup impressionné les membres de la Commission était les jeunes. Les élèves du secondaire et les étudiants de l'université ont manifesté une grande ouverture d'esprit, une générosité et un optimisme impressionnants quant à leur aptitude à surmonter les difficultés qui ont dérouté les générations précédentes. Ce qui nous a frappé le plus, c'était l'accueil chaleureux qu'ils font à autrui et aux autres régions du Canada, leur désir de considérer la diversité du Canada comme un atout important. Leurs soucis concernaient plutôt les possibilités d'apprendre une deuxième langue, de voyager dans d'autres régions du pays, d'acquérir à l'école des connaissances plus approfondies et plus équilibrées sur le Canada et de rencontrer d'autres Canadiens, de faire leur connaissance et de les comprendre.

Les jeunes Canadiens de première génération avec qui j'ai l'occasion de parler, et j'en rencontre beaucoup en tant qu'universitaire, veulent être fiers de leurs racines, mais ils tiennent aussi à participer à la vie économique, sociale et culturelle du Canada en tant que Canadiens à part entière. Pour eux, il importe surtout d'assurer l'égalité d'accès à l'emploi, à l'avancement et à tous les domaines de la vie sociale et politique du pays. Ils espèrent aussi que l'on reconnaîtra mieux l'importance et la qualité des contributions que des citoyens d'origines autres que britannique ou française ont apportées dans le passé et apporteront à l'avenir à l'évolution et à la croissance du Canada. Toutefois, ces aspirations ne diminuent en rien la fierté qu'ils tirent de leur patrimoine d'origine ni l'espoire qu'ils ont de voir préserver la culture et les traditions des groupes ethniques au profit non seulement de leurs familles mais aussi de tous les Canadiens qui y trouveraient une source d'enrichissement personnel. Pour que les jeunes réalisent ces aspirations, il importe de prendre des mesures positives en vue d'assurer la préservation et l'épanouissement de la culture et des traditions de tous nos groupes ethniques.

Dans la période de mise en cause de l'unité nationale que nous vivons actuellement, nous accordons beaucoup d'attention à la répartition des pouvoirs entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux, ainsi qu'aux réformes constitutionnelles. Bien qu'importante, la solution de ces questions ne peut, seule, nous aider à réaliser la volonté commune et la bonne entente essentielles à une véritable unité nationale. Nous pouvons faire beaucoup, en tant qu'individus ou membres d'un cercle local, d'un organisme paroissial, d'une commission scolaire ou de tout autre organisme, pour mieux comprendre la culture, les difficultés et les aspirations d'autres Canadiens. Notre système d'enseignement a souvent manqué à son devoir dans ce domaine. Beaucoup de nos manuels scolaires viennent de l'étranger et ne correspondent donc ni à notre culture ni à nos besoins particuliers. Qui plus est, l'enseignements se caractérise souvent chez nous par un certain esprit de clocher. Il est épouvantable de constater combien nous vivons dans l'ignorance des autres régions et des autres groupes ethniques du pays. Les jeunes de chaque province en savent très peu ou ne savent rien du tout des caractéristiques des autres régions du pays et de l'histoire de nos peuples indigènes tandis que les versions française et anglaise de notre histoire sont complètement différentes. Pour réaliser une volonté canadienne nationale, il importe de normaliser la qualité des informations contenues dans nos manuels scolaires et d'encourager vivement les échanges d'étudiants et de professeurs entre les différentes régions du Canada.

Nous reprochons aux médais de ne pas se soucier de la teneur canadienne ni de la représentativité régionale de leurs émissions. Pourtant, les médias choisissent leurs programmes en fonction de nos goûts. Si nous ne nous sentons pas nous-mêmes concernés par la teneur canadienne et la représentativité régionale de nos programmes, nous ne pouvons pas honnêtement exiger que les médias nous montrent le chemin.

L'avenir du Canada est une gageure, et il faut absolument que nous ne nous fiions pas aux seuls gouvernements pour y faire face. Il incombe à chacun d'entre nous, individuellement ou collectivement, par l'intermédiaire des organismes ou associations auxquels nous appartenons, de promouvoir la bonne entente, la tolérance, et la volonté commune nécessaires à la création d'une société meilleure pour tous les Canadiens. Cette société, pour sa part, se doit d'assurer l'égalité devant la loi et l'égalité d'accès aux possibilités d'emploi à chaque citoyen quels que soient sa langue maternelle et ses origines ethniques. La société canadienne a un devoir spécial à cet égard envers tous ceux qui ont choisi eux-mêmes de s'installer au Canada pour y faire leur vie. Comme Thomas D'Arcy McGee l'a si bien déclaré dans un discours prononcé en 1862 à Québec:

> Chaque pays sous le soleil chérit, et à bon droit, ses propres fils, fruits du sol natal et nourris au sein de la patrie. Mais lorsqu'un homme choisit de s'installer dans un autre pays, d'offrir à ce pays adoptif le fruit de ses mains, de lui rendre honneur, et de s'y attacher quoi qu'il advienne, – lorsqu'il quitte son pays d'origine pour mettre le cap sur le pays de son choix et qu'il dépose aux pieds de sa nouvelle maîtresse, son pays adoptif, tous ses espoirs d'homme mûr, il y acquiert, par tant de dévouement, des droits à la considération, au-delà de ceux mêmes des fils du pays.

WE ARE ALL CANADIANS

HON. ROBERT WELCH
Minister of Culture & Recreation

We are all Canadians, and Canada is our country. Our backgrounds are diverse. That does not matter. We may be of Native ancestry, or we may trace our origins to France or the British Isles. We may be able to measure our history in this country in terms of many generations, or a few years or even months. But we all have a stake in Canada. Working together we have made this country what it is. And together we bear the responsibility for its future.

Your presence here at this important conference shows that you, and the communities of which you are part, understand this and are prepared to bear your part of the burden also with other Canadians. When I saw the card announcing this conference, I was struck by the great diversity of ethnocultural communities participating. Someone who did not know how multicultural we are would have looked at the card and said: "That's the world in miniature." But I looked at the card and thought: "That's Canada in miniature."

This country is its people. It is the mosaic of different people, living together, working together and depending on each other that makes up this multicultural society that is Canada. From the very first day that we began to exist as a country we have been multicultural even though, as a society, it may have taken us some time to recognize this fact. But we have recognized it and this recognition – on the part of government – is embodied in official policy. The Government of Ontario, which I represent here today, has such a policy, and I want to re-state it briefly for you because this policy bears so directly on the theme of this conference.

To begin with, let me state that the concept of multiculturalism encompasses all groups and all individuals in this province – from the immigrant who arrived last week to the native Indian whose ancestors were here thousands of years ago. Every individual and every group that is part of our society is a part of its multicultural fabric. Ontario's multicultural policy has three elements – the first one is – Equality. The equality of all members of our society is recognized not only in terms of rights, but also in terms of the obligations that belonging to this society of ours imposes. We could not be more serious about safeguarding the equality and dignity of every single member of our society, and by multiculturalism we do not only mean support for cultural activities such as drama, dance, the arts and all the other activities which help individuals and ethnocultural groups maintain their heritage, but also by assuring that the individual members of those groups are protected against discrimination and exploitation.

The second element is – access and participation. This means that the government takes all the steps necessary to ensure that no one is denied access to the services and facilities the government provides for the population. This means that we will not permit cultural differences to impede access to government services. Access is essential, or course, but participation is just as important. Every individual or group has the right to take part in the decision-making process. These decisions may be at the local, municipal or provincial level. No matter on what level they are, everyone who is likely to be affected has a right to be heard. In a democratic society, participation in decision-making is a right, but I would also say that it is a duty. Many of you here today know only too well that when this duty is neglected or this right is taken away, the society that results can no longer be called democratic. By participating in this conference, you have demonstrated just how seriously you are taking this duty.

The third element is – Cultural Retention and Sharing. The government is committed to aiding the cultural endeavours of individual groups. It recognizes their right to the support the government provides to all because it understands that every group possesses important cultural values, and believes that these can contribute to the cultural enrichment of all Ontarians when they are shared. The government will make very sure that individual or groups enjoy the right to develop their cultural heritage and language *without* fear of endangering their place in society. This, in brief, is our multicultural policy.

At the beginning of this century Sir Wilfrid Laurier compared Canada to a gothic cathedral made of marble, oak and granite and declared: "This is the image I would like Canada to become, I want the marble to remain the marble, the granite to remain the granite, the oak to remain the oak, and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world." Through the years politicians, political scientists and thinkers have given a great deal of thought to what it means to be Cana-

dian. Our own Premier, William Davis, summed it up very succinctly:

> We are not great in military might or economic dominance, we offer rough climate (no argument there) and many hardships. We offer a system of government that embraces both flexibility and complexity – where compromise and initiative are often intertwined. We value tolerance and reward initiatives and enterprise. Different races and cultures enrich those of our founding peoples. To be Canadian is to live in relative calm and with great dignity.

To this I would add: a Canadian is someone who lives in this country and feels that he is a part of it.

There has been a great deal of talk and introspection about our so-called Canadian identity over the last few years. But because Canadian identity may not have been defined with scientific precision does not mean that it does not exist – or that we are not aware of it. We who are here belong to the various ethnocultural groups that make up this multi-cultural country of ours. We may feel different from each other, because our origins are different, but we all have one thing in common – we are Canadians. Nowhere does this become more apparent than when Canadians visit other countries, even if they are their ancestral homelands. If you come from a country where freedom, as we know it, does not exist, then your love of freedom, and the fact that you have come to take it for granted in Canada, would make it difficult if not impossible for you to live there again. But even without going to such extremes, you'll agree that someone who returns to his homeland suddenly feels different, different from the friends and relatives he left behind. He feels in fact like a Canadian. And those of us who have had the experience, will undoubtedly agree, that this feeling "Canadian" reaches its climax when he touches Canadian soil again.

So what is Canadian identity? It is a feeling – a conviction that you are a part of something that does not take anything away from your heritage, from your individuality, but that nevertheless embraces it all. And since the Canadian identity is shaped by the people of this country the Canadian identity does not stand still. Every group that is a part of Canada's multi-cultural fabric leaves its imprint on it. Just think of food, a subject dear to my heart, and think what has been happening to our basic Canadian cuisine over the last ten or twenty years. We have, among others, absorbed Polish sausage, Italian Pizza and Wiener Schnitzel, and now are learning about curry and how to handle chopsticks.

Our multicultural society makes Canada one of the luckiest countries, since it does not only offer us the best of both worlds, but the best of all possible worlds. Coming to Canada demonstrated courage and enterprise – the courage to sever roots and to face the unknown, and the enterprise to start a new life in a new country. Even if you yourself are a second or third or fourth generation Canadian, this courage and this enterprise are part of your family heritage enhanced by the Canadian experience. It is this courage and enterprise all of us look to to make Canada the country all of us want it to be.

But I believe we are only on the threshold of our multi-cultural experience. Today Canada's population consists of 45% of people with Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, 28% French and 27% of neither French nor Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. This means that we are faced with the demanding nation – building task of finding that precise degree of accommodation on many fronts, which will earn us a fresh unity and a revived prosperity.

At the moment the Quebec situation is uppermost in everyone's mind and this pre-occupation would tend to overshadow the claims for attention by other parts of Canada. I am optimistic enough to believe that with good will and hard work by everyone of us we shall be able to solve these problems and preserve Canada for ourselves and for the generations that will follow us. The fact that we are all participating in a multicultural conference on "Canadian Unity" indicates that firstly we are all concerned about Canada's unity, second that unity is in danger and third that we are prepared, and anxious to do something about it. Thirty years ago you probably could not have filled my office with a conference like this, but the changes in attitude in our country have created circumstances that made this conference not only possible, but also necessary if we want to preserve this Canada of ours. I am not going to discuss who has a larger and who has a smaller stake in Canada's future, but suffice it to say that every Canadian no matter what his origin has an undisputed right to do his utmost to ensure that the Canada as we know it and love it will continue to exist.

Canada has changed, and it will change even more, because people change. We are different from our parents and our children are different from us; that is why we have to be flexible in the methods aimed at preserving Canadian unity. Since it is the difference in people that are the source of changes, it is up to people to help create the framework which – taking into account changed realities – will ensure the continuation of a United Canada.

Just last week the first report of Ontario's Advisory Committee on Confederation became available. The Committee pursued three broad objectives:

1 Encourage a wide debate among Ontarians and other Canadians on what should be done to bridge differences and resolve difficulties;
2 Support the efforts of individuals and groups working to strengthen national unity; and,
3 Develop specific proposals for consideration by the Ontario Government as a contribution of its participation in intergovernmental discussions dealing with the future of Canada.

The report contains many interesting and some quite revolutionary suggestions and the Chairman of the Committee encourages the widest possible discussions of its recommendations.

I believe that the organizations represented here today should take an active part in these discussions. Your being here today is an invaluable first step, but it is only a first step. I urge you to make this the beginning of a continuing and increasing involvement. I urge those of you who have been actively involved in work to preserve Canadian Unity to redouble your efforts. To those of you who have held back because you were afraid that your contribution would not be significant enough, I say that everyone who shares Canada has a contribution to make and every contribution is significant in its own way. All of us who love Canada have a right to want it to be united and a duty to do our utmost that it will remain united. But it won't just happen, everyone of us has to want it, has to believe in it, has to believe that it is possible and above all, has to be willing to work to make it come. Your being here indicates your willingness and for all our sakes I wish you success in your endeavours.

NOUS SOMMES TOUS DES CANADIENS

L'HONORABLE ROBERT WELCH
Ministre des Affaires culturelles et des Loisirs

Nous sommes tous des Canadiens et notre pays, c'est le Canada. Nos origines si diverses soient-elles, importent peu. Que nous soyons d'origine autochtone, française ou anglaise, que notre famille ait déjà passé plusieurs générations dans ce pays ou seulement quelques années ou même quelques mois, tout cela n'a aucune importance. Notre enjeu commun, c'est l'avenir du Canada. Ce sont nos efforts communs qui ont fait du Canada ce qu'il est aujourd'hui. C'est notre responsabilité commune de veiller à son avenir.

Le fait que vous être venus assister à cette conférence indique que vous, et les collectivités que vous représentez, êtes conscients de ce fait et prêts à assumer, de concert avec les autres Canadiens, votre part des devoirs qui nous incombent à tous. Quand j'ai vu la carte d'invitation à la conférence, j'ai été frappé par la multiplicité des collectivités ethnoculturelles qui y participent. Quiconque ne connaît pas le Canada aurait pu se dire en la lisant qu'elle représentait le monde en miniature; quant à moi, j'ai pense plutôt qu'il s'agissait du Canada en miniature.

Ce sont ses citoyens qui font la valeur du Canada. La société multiculturelle canadienne forme une mosaïque de différentes personnes vivant et travaillant côte à côte et dépendant les unes des autres. Depuis le tout premier jour de notre existence en tant que nation, nous avons été un pays multiculturel bien que notre société ait mis du temps à l'admettre. De nos jours, nous avons reconnu ce fait, comme en témoigne la politique officielle du gouvernement.

C'est aussi la politique du gouvernement Ontarien dont je suis le représentant ici. Et je tiens à en faire un bref exposé parce qu'elle est en relation directe avec le thème de cette conférence.

Permettez-moi tout d'abord de déclarer que le concept du multiculturalisme englobe tous les groupes et tous les particuliers de cette province – de l'immigrant qui vient d'arriver à l'autochtone dont les ancêtres vivaient déjà ici il y a des milliers d'années. Chaque particulier et chaque groupe faisant partie de notre société fait aussi partie de notre édifice social. La politique ontarienne sur le multiculturalisme se compose de trois éléments – le premier c'est l'égalité. Cette égalité de tous les membres de notre société est reconnue non seulement par des droits, mais elle se reflète aussi dans les obligations que notre société impose à tous ses membres.

C'est de toutes ses forces que le gouvernement Ontarien entend sauvegarder l'égalité et la dignité de chaque membre de notre société; notre multiculturalisme ne veut pas se borner à encourager les activités culturelles telles que le théâtre, la danse, les arts permettant aux particuliers et aux groupes ethnoculturels de conserver leur patrimoine, mais il veut assurer la protection de tous les membres de ces groupes contre la discrimination et l'exploitation.

Le deuxième élément c'est l'accès et la participation. Ceci veut dire que le gouvernement prend toutes les mesures nécessaires pour assurer l'accès de tous aux services et aux installations que le gouvernement offre à la population. Ceci veut dire aussi que nous ne permettons pas que des différences culturelles interdisent l'accès aux services gouvernementaux. L'accès est important bien entendu, mais la participation est tout aussi essentielle. Chaque particulier ou groupe a le droit de participer au processus décisionnel, qu'il s'agisse du niveau régional, municipal ou provincial. Quelles que soient ces décisions, tous ceux qu'elles peuvent toucher ont le droit de se prononcer. Dans une société démocratique, la participation aux décisions est un droit; mais je considère que c'est aussi un devoir. Nombre de personnes réunies ici savent qu'une société qui ne s'acquitte pas de ce devoir – ou qui en est privée – ne peut plus se targuer d'être une démocratie. En participant à cette conférence, vous venez de prouver que vous ne prenez pas ces devoirs à la légère.

Le troisième élément, c'est la conservation et la mise en commun du patrimoine culturel. Le gouvernement s'est engagé à aider les efforts culturels de groupes individuels. Il reconnaît en effet qu'ils ont le droit de s'attendre à de l'aide gouvernementale et considere que les valeurs culturelles de chaque groupe sont susceptibles d'enrichir le patrimoine de tous les Ontariens. Le gouvernement tient à assurer à chaque particuleir ou groupe le droit de développer son patrimoine culturel et sa langue *sans* avoir à craindre pour sa place dans la société. Ceci donc constitue notre politique multiculturelle.

Au début du siècle, Sir Wilfrid Laurier comparait le Canada à une cathédrale gothique faite de marbre, de chêne et de granite et déclarait: "Voici l'image que je me fais du Canada de demain: le marbre restera marbre, le granite granite, le chêne chêne et de tous ces éléments je bâtirai une nation qui prendra sa place parmi les grandes nations du monde." Au cours des années, les politiciens, les spécialistes en économie politique et les penseurs ont passé beaucoup de temps à définir le terme "Canadien". Notre Premier ministre, William Davis, l'a fait en quelques mots de la manière suivante:

> "Nous ne sommes pas une nation importante du point de vue militaire ou économique. Notre climat est rude (je suis sûr que vous serez d'accord) et difficile à supporter. Notre système de gouvernement est tout à la fois flexible et complexe; il allie quelquefois les compromis et les initiatives. Nous respectons la tolérance et récompensons l'esprit d'initiative et d'entreprise. De nombreuses races et cultures sont venues enrichir celles de nos peuples fondateurs. Etre Canadien, c'est vivre dans une tranquillité relative et dans la dignité."

A ces paroles je voudrais ajouter: – Un Canadien, c'est quelqu'un qui vit dans ce pays et qui en est solidaire.

Notre identité canadienne a fait l'objet, ces dernières années, de beaucoup de discussions et d'examen. Mais le fait qu'il n'a pas été possible de décrire l'identité canadienne avec une exactitude scientifique ne veut pas dire qu'elle n'existe pas – ou que nous n'en sommes pas conscients. Nous, les habitants de ce pays, appartenons aux différents groupes ethnoculturels qui le composent. Nos origines diffèrent, il peut arriver que nous ayons d'autres points de vue, main nous avons tous une chose en commun: nous sommes Canadiens, fait qui devient encore plus évident quand les Canadiens se rendent à l'ètranger, même dans le pays de leurs ancêtres. Si le pays dont vous êtes originaire ne connaît pas la liberté dont nous jouissons ici, votre amour de la liberté et le fait que vous la trouvez naturelle au Canada, vous y rendrait la vie difficile, sinon impossible. Mais même sans aller d'un extrême à l'autre, vous conviendrez avec moi qu'une personne qui retourne visiter son pays d'origine se sent différente des amis et des parents qu'elle y a laissés. Elle se sent canadienne et ce sentiment devient plus aigu au moment où elle retrouve le sol canadien; ceux d'entre vous qui en ont fait l'expérience ne manqueront pas de confirmer mes dires.

Qu'est-ce donc que l'identité canadienne? C'est le sentiment – la conviction de faire partie de quelque chose qui ne vous enlève rien de votre patrimoine, de votre individualité, mais qui réussit à tout englober. Et cette identité canadienne qui est constituée par tous les Canadiens, ne peut rester statique. Chaque groupe qui fait partie de l'édifice social du Canada y laisse son empreinte. Il suffit de penser à la nourriture, un sujet qui me tient à cœur, et de penser à la transformation que notre simple cuisine canadienne a subi depuis les 10 ou 20 dernières années. Nous avons déjà assimilé, entre autres, les saucisses de Pologne, la pizza italienne et les escalopes viennoises; nous apprenons maintenant à manger avec des baguettes et à faire du cari.

Le Canada a beaucoup de chance puisque le multiculturalisme lui permet de concilier non seulement ce que l'Ancien et le Nouveau monde ont de mieux à offrir mais encore ce que tous les pays du monde ont de mieux à offrir. Il a fallu du courage et de l'esprit d'aventure pour venir au Canada – le courage de se déraciner et d'affronter l'inconnu; l'esprit d'aventure pour commencer une nouvelle vie dans un nouveau pays. Que vous soyez Canadien de deuxième, troisième ou quatrième génération, ce courage et cet esprit d'initiative, ainsi que l'expérience canadienne, font à jamais partie de votre patrimoine familial. C'est de ce courage et de cet esprit d'initiative dont nous avons tous besoin pour faire du Canada le pays de nos aspirations.

Mais notre expérience multiculturelle n'en est qu'à ses débuts. De nos jours, la population du Canada comporte 45% de personnes d'origine anglo-celtique, 28% d'origine française et 27% d'autres origines. Ceci veut dire que nous devons apprendre à nous adapter dans bien des domaines si nous voulons être à la hauteur de notre tâche ardue de bâtisseurs de nation, renouveler notre unité et faire revivre notre prospérité.

En ce moment, la situation au Québec est celle qui nous préoccupe le plus, et ces inquiétudes risquent de masquer les autres questions qui exigent notre attention dans les autres parties du Canada. Mais je suis optimiste et je pense que la bonne volonté et un travail acharné de la part de nous tous, nous permettront de résoudre ces problèmes et de nous préserver un Canada entier, et pour les générations à venir. Le fait que nous participons tous à une conférence multiculturelle sur "l'unité canadienne" prouve tout d'abord que nous sommes préoccupés par l'unité du Canada; deuxièmement, que cette unité est en danger et troisièmement, que nous sommes prêts et désireux de la maintenir. Il y a trente ans, il n'aurait pas été possible de trouver assez de monde pour remplir mon bureau à l'occasion d'une conférence comme celle-là, mais les changements survenus dans les attitudes de notre pays ont créé un climat qui a rendu cette conférence non seulement possible, mais aussi nécessaire, si nous tenons à préserver le Canada, notre pays. Ce n'est pas mon intention de discuter de la part qui revient à chacun dans l'avenir du Canada, mais je tiens à déclarer que chaque Canadien, quelle que soit son origine, a le droit inaliénable de faire tout son possible pour assurer la survivance du Canada tel que nous le connaissons et l'aimons.

Le Canada a changé, et il changera encore plus parce que les gens changent. Nous ne sommes pas les mêmes que nos parents, et nos enfants seront différents de ce que nous sommes; c'est pour cela qu'il nous faut être adaptables et flexibles pour préserver l'unité canadienne. Etant donné que ce sont les différences humaines qui sont à la source des changements, c'est aux particuliers d'ériger une structure qui, en faisant la part des réalités changeantes, assurera la continuation d'un Canada uni.

La semaine dernière justement, le premier rapport du Comité consultatif ontarien sur la Confédération a été publié. Le Comité s'était fixé trois buts principaux:

1 encourager un vaste débat parmi les Ontariens et les autres Canadiens sur ce qu'il conviendrait de faire pour aboutir à une conciliation et résoudre les difficultés;
2 appuyer les efforts des particuliers et des groupes qui cherchent à renforcer l'unité nationale; et
3 mettre au point des propositions précises qui seraient examinées par le gouvernement de l'Ontario et qui représenteraient un élément de sa participation aux discussions intergouvernementales ayant trait à l'avenir du Canada.

Le rapport présente nombre de suggestions intéressantes et même assez révolutionnaires; le président du comité invite le public à discuter les recommandations du rapport.

Je suis d'avis que les organismes représentés ici se doivent de prendre une part active à ces discussions. Vous avez déjà fait un premier pas important en venant ici, mais ce n'ext qu'un premier pas. Je vous invite à continuer et à élargir cet engagement, et je prie ceux d'entre vous qui participent déjà activement au travail de préservation de l'unité canadienne de redoubler leurs efforts. A ceux d'entre vous qui se sont tenus jusqu'à présent à l'écart dans la crainte que leur contribution ne soit pas assez importante, je tiens à dire que tous ceux qui appartiennent au Canada ont une contribution à offrir qui peut être de valeur, quelle que soit sa forme. Nous tous qui aimons le Canada avons le droit de le voir rester uni et le devoir de faire tous nos efforts pour qu'il le demeure.

Mais il ne suffit pas de parler d'unité: nous devons tous la vouloir, y croire et y travailler. Le fait que vous soyez présents est déjà la preuve de votre bonne volonté; dans notre intérêt à tous, je souhaite que vos efforts soient couronnés de succès.

UNITY AND THE MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY —
An analysis of the issue from different perspectives

Introduction: PROF. SHIU L. KONG

Presentation 1: PROF. TONY RUPRECT

Presentation 2: MR. OMER DESLAURIERS

Presentation 3: MR. NICK LELUK, M.P.P.

Presentation 4: MR. ALEX CHUMAK

Presentation 5: DR. STANLEY HAIDASZ, SENATOR

Presentation 6: MR. ODOARDO DISANTO, M.P.P.

Question and Replies

Introduction

DR. S. L. KONG
President, The Toronto Chinese Community Services Association

The theme for this panel discussion is "Unity and the Multicultural Community – an Analysis of the Issue from Different Perspectives". I have the privilege to introduce to you a panel made up of distinguished and concerned leaders of different ethnocultural backgrounds, who also represent a range of political and social interests. I am sure their views will go forward as important factors in our impending unity and constitution considerations.

In opening this discussion it may be helpful to review Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's announcement in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971 that:

> "National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow

respect for others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of Multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all."

To me this is a profound concept of Canadian unity. For it suggests as the ideological basis of our Canadian society the importance of individual identity, the multicultural promise, and equal opportunity or fair play for all.

However, it has now been seven years since that statement was made, and significant changes have occurred in our country. It is clear to many of us that the rate of transformation from an idea to a style of life has not been efficient or effective enough. Surely, we recognize the tremendous efforts made by the federal and provincial governments to promote a spirit of multiculturalism and to create policies for equality. But these efforts are largely superficial in nature. They are not designed to generate change in either the organizational or the power structure of our society.

What we need is an all-out campaign using all the educational facilities and mass media channels to help all Canadians gain a balanced perspective of our history and our present reality as a basis for planning for our future. We recognize that historically the founding fathers of this country represented two linguistic and racial groups, and their wisdom was to preserve in Canada the English and the French languages, as well as their respective traditions and religion. But that is only a political aspect of Canadian history. The human aspect of Canadian history is made up of the struggles and achievements, the life styles and cultures, the work methods and aspirations of all Canadian peoples who had inhabited and helped transform this vast land. We have yet to see this history documented comprehensively and communicated methodically.

I think all of us here today accept the two official languages as a Canadian fact. I think we also accept that Canada was founded politically by two groups of people. I do not think, however, that many of us can accept that because of this history Canadian citizens should be divided into two categories, namely the "founding groups" and the "immigrants". Often, the native people are put as an addition. What are the implications of this division? It implies that those Canadian citizens who belong to the "founding groups", regardless of where they come from and when they have arrived, are encouraged to feel that they are the "founding people" and, by extension, they are worth a little more and should have special privileges. By contrast, it also implies that all other Canadian citizens are "immigrants", including many whose "Canadian" ancestry should be traced as far back as before confederation. By extension again, immigrants should act as guests, should be more polite, should take things as favours, should answer more questions at employment and immigration offices ...

Most of us present here today know what it is like when we face questions such as:

> *Where are you from?*
> *Do you find it difficult to adjust?*
> *When did you come to Canada?*
> *Are things still bad at home?*
> *When are you going back?*

These appear to be normal and well-meaning questions on the surface. But when they are being asked repeatedly, generation after generation, they communicate deep-rooted feelings and attitudes to both the questioner and the listener. To be quite simple, one feels being a Canadian, a host, a natural citizen, a master, a superior person, a good hearted and polite person to ask these questions. By contrast, when one receives these questions, one feels being not a full Canadian, a guest, an unnatural citizen, a temporary and imposing inhabitant, an inferior person, a person having to put up with such questions even though they do not relate to reality.

We need a psychic breakthrough. We need to get rid of group labels. We must as a matter of policy discontinue any use of the terms "founding peoples" and "immigrants" so that at least our children will have a chance to be Canadian brothers and sisters and a chance to feel equally at home in their mother land. Ladies and gentlemen, this is the central issue of multiculturalism and Canadian unity.

Prime Minister Trudeau is right when he stated that national unity must make sense to people in order to stand, and that it must be founded on the development of individual identity. The Honourable Mr. Norman Cafik also developed the same idea very clearly in his key-note address to this conference. His was a fine and convincing speech. But he also said something that I find disturbing, and I must take exception to his remarks. In fact if his statement reflects current government policy on multiculturalism I would like to suggest that he seriously review and discontinue such a policy. When dwelling on how the various ethno-cultural communities could contribute to national unity, Mr. Cafik stressed the need to set aside partisan views both within individual communities and in Canada as a whole. He appealed to members of Canada's ethno-cultural communities to settle their in-house differences and to develop unified voices on Canadian unity. By way of illustration he also gave examples of cases where officers from his ministry had to withhold decisions on multicultural development grants when faced with applications from groups holding contradicting views. I must say this is nonsense, and whether this is a policy or just a practice left to the discretion of government officers, it is dangerous and discriminatory. I say this for a number of reasons:

1 The Government has not expected either the English community or the French community to sort out their respective in-house differences on unity and multiculturalism; what right does it have in placing this expectation on the "immigrant" communities?

2 It is a well known fact that within each community, be it religious, linguistic, racial or even a family, there always exist differences of views, interests and aspirations among its members. Acceptance of such differences forms the basis of a free and democratic society. When the Government uses grants to encourage or force any community to get rid of its differences, it does so with the possible consequences of either increasing the fragmentation that might already exist, or forcing the entire community to meet with the terms laid down by the government. Either of these developments is contradictory to the Canadian spirit.

3 If government officers whose job it is to understand communities and multiculturalism cannot evaluate a grant application on its own merit, then increased training and direction is needed. Non-decision is a sign of laissez faire, and it may be a way of saving grant money.

4 The essence of multiculturalism is to encourage diverse cultural expressions to flourish and fuse in the Canadian context, to allow different cultural roots to grow in Canadian soil if you like. The expectation is that out of these expressions would emerge a Canadian culture that is unique and multicultural at the same time. There is little place for the expression of entrenched cultural manifestations based on the values and politics of the home countries of any group. It should be quite easy to determine which multicultural activities are good for Canadians and Canada. In fact the best multicultural activities could be those that are activated jointly by different ethno-cultural communities, and those

that express how an imported culture could take on a Canadian meaning.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now have the pleasure to call upon my colleagues on the panel to speak on "Unity and the Multicultural Community" each from his own perspective.

Presentation One

DR. TONY RUPRECHT
York University

In recent years the government has taken the ethno-cultural make-up of our country seriously and created a Ministry of Multiculturalism. The Ministry develops its own programs and policies which come complete with their own metaphors and images. In fact, one of the metaphors has become strongly lodged in the Canadian conscience because of its utility in providing the answer to our identity crisis and in helping us to distinguish ourselves from the Americans. They are "the melting pot" supposedly (robbing the immigrant of their heritage) and "we are the beautiful mosaic" (basically appreciating different cultures and permitting the immigrant to develop their cultures).

Permit me first to examine our beautiful mosaic – create my own metaphor, and then proceed to outline the vision I have of a multicultural Canada, not tied to the tokenism of exotic foods and strange dances and costumes but rather to a new dynamic reality of equality and access to opportunity.

First then, let's look at the myth of the mosaic. What is it? It's a picture or pattern of small colored stones set in a concrete surface. If we resemble the mosaic does that mean that ethnic citizens are locked in their existing social and economic positions unable to move into the mainstream of society? Are they unable to participate in the major decisions of this country? Professors Clement and Porter have documented evidence that less than 2% of those who classify as ethnics belong to the corporate elite of this country, yet they make up almost a third of the population.

The mosaic is prone to describe a condition "where ethnic cultural groups maintain their cultural identity because they are alienated, isolated, oppressed, ostracized, or manipulated."

Since that mosaic does not move, does not change, I'd like to provide my own metaphor which comes much closer to the vision I have of Canadian Multicultural reality. My metaphor is patterned after Goethe's Roman fountain. I'd like to call it the *Great Canadian Fountain.* As most great fountains (with its streaming water and cascading falls) it is at once strong and stable yet flowing and providing change and flexibility (mobility). That's my Canada, strong in its sense of unity, yet dynamic and flexible.

I want the Great Canadian Fountain to reflect the new Canada, because the Canada we belonged to yesterday no longer exists. It is now a multicultural Canada. And our public institutions are just now becoming cognizant of that fact. Multiculturalism must be reflected in our educational institutions. In the old Canada, Canadians of ethnic origins other than French or British were almost ignored in the schools. Their presence in Canada was usually overlooked and the scattered references to them suggests they would have to submerge their ethnic identity in order to become good Canadians.

In the new Canada there should be a new spirit. The official history textbooks in our high schools should stress "Canada's Multicultural Heritage". Here prospective ethnic studies are to be used as a humanitarian tool in sustaining these particular children's self-esteem; to give them a sense of self-worth and help them overcome any sense of social inferiority that minority group status might imply.

High School text books should also indicate the ethnic make-up of this country and the great contributions that different groups have made in the development of this nation. I like the Canadian Fountain to reflect multiculturalism in the mass media.

Perhaps the single most important contribution to national unity could have been developed by the C.B.C. This great tool of Unification has never been fully utilized. After 40 years of its existence, has C.B.C. really fulfilled its mandate in reflecting the cultural complexities of Canada? Have the recommendations of the B & B commission been implemented? They have not. The recommendation of this Royal Commission #9 p. 539 (reads): "We recommend that the C.B.C. recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the C.B.C. remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting." Recommendation #10 reads: "We recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of Broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and T.V. can contribute to the maintainance of languages and cultures."

The C.B.C. could accomplish this by: 1. producing programs which show the human aspect of cultural minorities; 2. permitting some degree of cultural input in program policy and production; and 3. providing access of 3rd language programs in regions where warranted.

The composition of CRTC Board of Directors should also reflect the cultural reality of Canada.

Let me also mention briefly the National film industry – it too could be supported and utilized to produce feature films that could weld the country together.

The Great Canadian Fountain will also show changes in our cultural institutions. Take, for example, the National Art Bank (which is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State). Art ought to reflect the present state of society; it could be utilized in achieving National Unity. In its purchasing policy, the National Art Bank does not sufficiently reflect the artistic achievements of ethno-cultural minorities. Its directors and the membership of its selection committee should also reflect the multicultural make-up of Canada. The arts are the principle means of expressing cultural identity. They are the manifestation of the individual and collective consciousnesses. The arts contribute to the preservation of important elements of a culturally distinct past and are essential to reaching a culturally distinct Canadian future.

Finally, we see once again the traditional historic forces in Canada moving towards confrontation. Will the Multicultural Community, Canadians by choice, stand silently be this act of national masochism? I think the multicultural community is destined to provide the unifying element to keep this country together.

Let all of us, now and in the future, work most diligently not merely towards the survival of this nation, but let us also commit ourselves to guard the continuous flow of the fountain of Canadian nationhood. That way, we can never be condemned by history for having left to our children the impending broken dreams we now call Canada.

Presentation Two: Multiculturalism and Franco-Ontarians

MR. OMER DESLAURIERS

Chairman, Council for Franco-Ontarian Affairs

It is with a certain hesitation, Mr. Chairman, that I have accepted to sit on this panel for the simple reason that very few articles have been written on the topic and the views I may expound are not backed up by solid research. I may even venture that the meeting this morning is a "première" in Ontario. As Chairman of a Council for Franco-Ontarian Affairs, I have had the opportunity of discussing this matter with my Council, with many Franco-Ontarian groups, but very seldom with members of other cultural groups.

Before stating my views on multiculturalism, I would like to take a few moments to give certain information relating to Franco-Ontarians. That is:

WHO ARE THEY?
HOW MANY ARE THEY AND WHERE DO THEY LIVE?
WHAT DO THEY WANT?

(Annex A)

Then, I will give my views on multiculturalism in general in Canada, state the position of my Council on Franco-Ontarian culture and some of its views on multiculturalism in Ontario, and, in conclusion, offer certain comments on the position of the Advisory Council on Multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism in Canada and French Canadians

If one looks at the debate on Canadian unity, it does not seem that French Canadians are much interested in promoting multiculturalism. At this time in history, French Canadians, especially those living outside Quebec, are more interested in obtaining official recognition of their language and culture, a recognition they did not obtain in the B.N.A. Act, than promoting multiculturalism. This seeming lack of concern for other cultural groups does not necessarily lie in opposition with multiculturalism.

In 1974, at a meeting with the Council on Multiculturalism in Ottawa, I stated that it is my belief that the French in Canada have been the bulwark of multiculturalism. If, at this time, the Anglophones are receptive to multiculturalism in Canada, if Canada has not become a melting pot of cultures as our brothers in the south, it is because the French have been the first people on this continent who have constantly refused to be "melted". It is still my opinion in 1978.

The present efforts of Franco-Ontarians to obtain a statutory framework for services in the French language lie in the same line of thought. The more the official authorities in this country and province will grant legal recognition to our minority group, it is my humble opinion that great benefits will accrue to the other cultural groups. The former attitude of one language, one creed, one culture in this country is slowly diminishing and a change in this monolithic view of Canadianism with a legal recognition of a minority will ensure that Canada is open to other cultures. A respect for minority groups, apart from Francophone, will eventually develop and already has in the public opinion of Canada.

So, if Franco-Ontarians are not seen as carrying the flag in defense of multiculturalism, their actions do not result in its negation.

Position of Our Council on French Canadian Culture in Ontario and on Multiculturalism

In 1976, our Council presented to the Ontario Government our position on that topic which is very simply as follows:

"The Council states that the French Canadian culture in Ontario is on an equal footing with the cultures of English Canadians and native people."

The Council recognizes that the presence of a large number of cultural groups in Ontario is enriching and gives this province a multicultural countenance. The Council is of the opinion that multiculturalism has its place in Ontario even if the cultures of the two founding groups and the native peoples occupy a special place.

Justification for the special status of the French and English cultures in Canada is based not only on historical reasons due to the concept of two founding peoples but also on the fact that Canada is a country of two official languages, French and English.

From a Franco-Ontarian point of view, culture and language are such inseparable concepts that one cannot recognize the two official languages of the country without also recognizing the two cultures which are bound up in them. Even if in Ontario the French language does not yet have an official status in all fields, it is the only language, other than English, with a special status. We, therefore, as Franco-Ontarians conclude that French Canadian culture is entitled to a special status in Ontario.

When Franco-Ontarians want a special cultural status in Ontario, they do not want to decry, to make a value judgment, on the cultures of other groups.

Philosophically, all the cultures in the world are equal. Culture represents a way of living bound to language, family, and to various educational, economic, political, social, religious and artistic institutions. In my opinion, German, Italian, French, English, Indian, have cultures which are equal in their value.

But in a given country, the cultures of the founding peoples must retain a special status and be supported by public institutions. Italian culture has a special status in Italy; Indian culture in India; and in Canada, it is my contention that the cultures of the two founding peoples must enjoy a special status.

A naive definition of multiculturalism in Ontario which sometimes is defined that all cultures are equal in this province does not lie well with Franco-Ontarians. They also cringe every time they are referred to as ethnics. I would accept this word if I were to live in another country but not in my homeland. My family has been in Ontario for two hundred years and this is my only country, my home province.

It may well be that I am hung up on semantics. I agree that a concept of biculturalism which does not recognize the existence, the value, the richness and the basic human rights of other cultural groups is much too narrow but a concept of multiculturalism that puts all the cultural groups on the same footing with the same institutional rights in this province is much too broad.

Comments on the Statement of the Advisory Council on Multiculturalism on Canadian Unity

A few years ago, at the Conference of Heritage Ontario, where Ontario was trying to find a policy on multiculturalism, Franco-Ontarians who attended this conference in great numbers left with a rather sour taste in their mouths. They were looked upon by many participants as a very favoured group because their language was recognized on the Canadian scene and they were not perceived as a group in danger of assimilation. They did not feel at that time that they were understood, even less that they had the sympathy of others.

The present Canadian debate on Canadian unity has put forward our plight on the national scene and our Council was most pleased last year to read the statement of the Advisory Council on Multiculturalism which affirms: "The Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism recognizes French Canadians as a part of the Canadian multicultural mosaic. However, as co-founders of the Canadian nation, they must be distinguished from other ethnocultural groups which have formed through immigration.

"In their long struggle the French Canadians have achieved certain constitutional and historic rights. The Council believes that there must be a frank acceptance by all Canadians of these rights which must be restored and preserved."

This statement put the debate on Canadian unity on a much more acceptable plane. Our Council for Franco-Ontarian Affairs accepts this position and has commended Dr. Korey's position in a newsletter and in the Franco-Ontarian media. To us, it was a responsible and courageous statement.

This new approach to Canadianism is a hopeful sign and encourages Franco-Ontarians to a closer co-operation with the ethnic communities. Such an assurance of support to French Canadians will allow them to lose their fear complex of being assimilated and encourage them to enter into a fruitful dialogue.

Before being members of a cultural group, we are all human beings with needs of security, respect, appreciation and understanding. This new approach may bring us more together and not tear us asunder. I deeply believe in the future of my country and since Ontario has a very important leadership role in the Canadian unity debate, a new approach to the rights of the founding peoples and of the other communities which have formed through immigration may well be a dominant factor in a hopeful and acceptable solution.

Annex A

I. WHO ARE THEY?

To many Ontarians, Franco-Ontarians are as little known as Joe Clark. They are still Franco-Ontarian who? The French presence in Ontario dates back to Champlain's explorations, the work of the Jesuit missionaries in Huronia, the establishment of French trading posts, such as Fort Rouillé in Toronto, Fort Cataracqui in Kingston, Fort Niagara at Niagara-on-the-Lake. The first French school, established in Kingston in 1670, was the first school in Ontario.

In the 18th century, French-speaking farmers settled in Ontario. In 1793, the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada approved the translation into the French language of all laws, instructions and government regulations. In 1857, Egerton Ryerson, the acknowledged founder of education in Ontario, wrote:

> French is the official language of the country as well as English, school trustees may legally authorize the teaching of both languages in the schools if the parents wish their children to learn both languages.

Unfortunately, a guarantee of the rights of francophones in Ontario was not inclued in the BNA Act (article 133) which guarantees the rights of the anglophone minority in Quebec.

In the 1880s, the northeastern section of Ontario was settled by French-speaking people and by 1885, more than 100,000 French-speaking people were living in Ontario. However, in 1912, by Regulation 17, teaching in the French language in the schools of Ontario was suddenly forbidden and this situation prevailed until 1927. Only in 1968 was French recognized as an official language of instruction at the secondary school level.

A Franco-Ontarian is a person whose mother tongue is French and who normally speaks French in his home. Some are descendants of immigrants who arrived in the early 1800s from Quebec and New Brunswick. Others are the descendants of more recent immigrants from Quebec, New Brunswick, France and the francophone countries of Africa.

To some, Franco-Ontarians seem to be a people "sans histoire". It is evident that Franco-Ontarian history has not the colour and panache of the saga of the Acadians with Evangeline and the deportation nor the exciting heroes such as Louis Riel in Manitoba.

On the whole Franco-Ontarians have been honest, hard working and conservative people who have participated in the development of the eastern and northeastern parts of the province and Essex County in the south. They have striven to retain their language in the face of opposition. It remains difficult to define the cultural identity of Franco-Ontarians.

With respect to culture, the Franco-Ontarian, like most Canadians, is still seeking his identity. It is still very difficult to define accurately what should be considered to be Franco-Ontarian culture. In general, Franco-Ontarians who refuse to be assimilated have certain distinctive traits which, however, are not sufficiently pronounced to make them easily distinguishable. Franco-Ontarians, who are generally quite conservative, have a Latin temperament and are more influenced by North American civilization. Franco-Ontarians wish to live on good terms with the anglophone population and often prefer to avoid confrontations of any kind. The desire of the majority for a coexistence of languages and cultures is not a contradiction of their search for a more clearly defined francophone identity at least on the part of young people and a certain elite.

II. HOW MANY FRANCO-ONTARIANS ARE THERE AND WHERE DO THEY LIVE?

In southern Ontario there are 140,000 francophones from Oshawa to Windsor. There are sizable groups in the Windsor area, in Welland and in Penetanguishene. One may find it difficult to meet several French-speaking people in Toronto although they number over 60,000. Instead of living in French sections or quarters, they are scattered all over Metropolitan Toronto. In northeastern Ontario, they number 172,000 and constitute a large percentage of the population in the North Bay, Sudbury, Timmins and Kapuskasing areas. Everyone is aware of the presence of francophones in eastern Ontario – Ottawa, Hawkesbury, Cornwall. They number about 170,000 in these areas.

The lack of French-language schools and services has discouraged many French-speaking from continuing to "live in French". According to the 1971 census, over 3/4 of a million of the population of Ontario are of French descent but only 1/2 a million speak French. This may explain the Franco-Ontarians' fear of being assimilated – and explains their demands for a new deal in any revised constitution of Canada.

III. FRANCO-ONTARIAN INSTITUTIONS

Education:	390 elementary and secondary French-language schools 117,000 students 5,200 teachers 2 bilingual universities 3 bilingual university colleges 2 bilingual colleges of applied arts and technology
Economy:	72 credit unions, with assets over $300,000,000 14 co-operatives 300 private enterprises owned and managed by Franco-Ontarians
Culture:	40 social clubs 3 permanent theatre groups 90 cultural centres 200 French-language parishes
Communications:	2 television stations 8 radio stations 1 daily newspaper 5 weekly newspapers

IV. WHAT DO FRANCO-ONTARIANS WANT?

Franco-Ontarians want a revised constitution which will guarantee that their rights will be protected in the same way that Section 133 of the 1867 constitution guaranteed the rights of the English-speaking minority in Quebec.

In particular, Franco-Ontarians want a constitution which will guarantee the following:

1 Recognition of French as an official language at all levels of government
2 The availability of government services in the French language.
3 The right to manage and administer a French-language system of education.
4 Recognition of the special status of French Canadian culture on an equal footing with the cultures of English-speaking Canadians and the native peoples

Le Multiculturalisme et les Franco-Ontariens

OMER DESLAURIERS

C'est avec une certaine hésitation, Monsieur le président, que j'ai accepté de faire partie de ce panel car fort peu d'articles ont été écrits sur le sujet qui nous préoccupe et les opinions que je vais avancer ne sont pas étayées par une recherche solide. J'irais même jusqu'à dire que la réunion de ce soir est une "première" en Ontario. A titre de président du Conseil des Affaires franco-ontariennes, j'ai eu la possibilité de discuter de la question avec le Conseil, avec de nombreux groupes franco-ontariens, mais rarement avec les membres d'autres groupes culturels.

Avant d'aborder la question du multiculturalisme, j'aimerais prendre quelques moments pour vous parler des Franco-Ontariens.

QUI SONT-ILS?
COMBIEN Y EN A-T-IL ET OU VIVENT-ILS?
QUE VEULENT-ILS?
(Annexe A)

Puis je vous donnerai mes vues sur le multiculturalisme en général au Canada, préciserai la position du Conseil sur la culture franco-ontarienne et sur le multiculturalisme en Ontario, et, en conclusion, je ferai certains commentaires sur la position du Conseil consultatif sur le multiculturalisme.

Le multiculturalisme au Canada et les Canadiens français

Si l'on considère le débat sur l'unité canadienne, il ne semble pas que les Canadiens français s'intéressent particulièrement à la promotion du multiculturalisme. A l'heure actuelle, les Canadiens français, particulièrement ceux qui vivent en dehors du Québec, s'intéressent plus à la reconnaissance officielle de leur langue et de leur culture, reconnaissance qu'ils n'ont pas obtenue dans l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, qu'à la promotion du multiculturalisme. Toutefois, ce manque d'intérêt apparent envers les autres groupes culturels ne va pas nécessairement à l'encontre du multiculturalisme.

En 1974, lors d'une rencontre avec le Conseil sur le multiculturalisme à Ottawa, je déclarais qu'à mon avis les francophones du Canada avaient été le rempart du multiculturalisme. Si, maintenant, les anglophones sont réceptifs à l'idée du multiculturalisme, si le Canada n'est pas devenu un creuset de cultures comme notre voisin du Sud, c'est bien parce que les francophones ont été les premiers sur ce continent à refuser obstinément de se laisser assimiler. C'est toujours mon opinion en 1978.

Les efforts actuels des Franco-Ontariens pour obtenir une loi-cadre des services en langue française rejoint la même ligne d'idées. Plus les autorités officielles du pays et de la province reconnaîtront légalement notre groupe minoritaire, plus, à mon humble avis, les autres groupes culturels récolteront de bénéfices. La vieille attitude: une langue, une croyance, une culture, s'effrite lentement et tout changement de cette vue monolithique du canadianisme, accompagné d'une reconnaissance légale d'une minorité, assurera l'ouverture du Canada aux autres cultures. Il s'ensuivra éventuellement dans l'opinion publique du Canada – en fait, il s'ensuit déjà – un respect des groupes minoritaires, dans lesquels on n'inclura pas les francophones.

Donc, même si on ne voit pas les Franco-Ontariens porter le drapeau du multiculturalisme, leur action n'en entraîne pas pour autant la négation.

Position du conseil sur la culture Canadienne Française en Ontario et sur le multiculturalisme

En 1976, le Conseil exposait au gouvernement de l'Ontario notre position qui est celle-ci:

"Le Conseil déclare que la culture canadienne française en Ontario est sur un pied d'égalité avec les cultures des Canadiens anglais et des autochtones."

Le Conseil reconnaît que la présence d'un grand nombre de groupes culturels en Ontario est enrichissante et donne à la province un caractère multiculturel. Le Conseil estime que le multiculturalisme a sa place en Ontario même si les cultures des groupes fondateurs et des autochtones occupent une place spéciale.

La justification du statut spécial des cultures française et anglaise au Canada s'appuie non seulement sur des raisons historiques dues au concept de deux peuples fondateurs, mais aussi sur le fait que le Canada est un pays qui a deux langues officielles, le français et l'anglais.

Du point de vue du Franco-Ontarien, la culture et la langue sont des concepts tellement inséparables qu'on ne peut reconnaître les deux langues officielles du pays sans reconnaître également les deux cultures qui s'y rattachent. Même si en Ontario le français n'a pas encore de statut officiel dans tous les domaines, c'est la seule langue, à part l'anglais, qui ait un statut spécial. Nous, Franco-Ontariens, en concluons donc que la culture canadienne française a droit à un statut spécial en Ontario.

Quand les Franco-Ontariens veulent un statut culturel à part en Ontario, ils ne veulent pas décrier les cultures des autres groupes, ni porter sur elles de jugement de valeur.

Sur le plan de la philosophie, toutes les cultures du monde sont égales. La culture représente un mode de vie associé à la langue, à la famille et aux institutions éducatives, économiques, politiques, sociales, religieuses et artistiques. A mon avis, les Allemands, les Italiens, les Français, les Anglais, les Indiens ont des cultures qui sont égales en valeur.

Mais, dans un pays donné, les cultures des peuples fondateurs doivent préserver un statut spécial et être appuyées par des institutions publiques. La culture italienne a un statut spécial en Italie; la culture indienne en Inde; et au Canada, je soutiens que les cultures des deux peuples fondateurs doivent jouir d'un statut spécial.

Il existe une définition naïve du multiculturalisme en Ontario, selon laquelle toutes les cultures sont égales dans la province, qui n'est pas très bien vue des Franco-Ontariens. Ils bondissent également chaque fois qu'on les considère comme un groupe ethnique. C'est en effet un mot que j'accepterais si je vivais dans un pays autre que le mien. Mais ma famille est établie en Ontario depuis deux cents ans et l'Ontario est mon seul pays, ma seule province.

Il se peut fort bien que j'attache trop d'importance à des considérations sémantiques. Je reconnais qu'un concept du biculturalisme qui ne reconnaît pas l'existence, la valeur, la richesse est beaucoup trop étroit, mais un concept du multiculturalisme qui met tous les groupes culturels sur un pied d'égalité et leur confère les mêmes droits institutionnels dans la province est beaucoup trop large.

Commentaires sur la déclaration du conseil consultatif sur le multiculturalisme à propos de l'unité canadienne

Il y a quelques années, l'Ontario s'efforçait de définir une politique du multiculturalisme au Congrès d'Héritage-Ontario. Les Franco-Ontariens, qui y participaient en grand nombre, en étaient partis assez peu satisfaits. En effet, certains participants les considéraient comme un groupe particulièrement favorisé parce que leur langue était reconnue au niveau national, alors que l'autres ne percevaient aucunement le danger d'assimilation qui les menaçait. Ils n'avaient pas eu, à l'époque, l'impression d'être compris, encore moins d'avoir la sympathie des autres.

Le débat actuel sur l'unité canadienne a porté notre situation à l'attention nationale et c'est avec grande satisfaction que le Conseil lisait l'année dernière la déclaration suivante du Conseil consultatif sur le multiculturalisme: "Le Conseil consultatif sur le multiculturalisme reconnaît que les Canadiens français sont un élément de la mosaïque culturelle qu'est le Canada. Cependant, à titre de cofondateurs de la nation canadienne, on doit les distinguer des autres groupes ethnoculturels, fruits de l'immigration.

"Durant leur longue lutte, les Canadiens français ont obtenu certains droits constitutionnels et historiques. Le Conseil croit qu'il doit y avoir une franche acceptation, par tous les Canadiens, de ces droits qui doivent être restaurés et préservés."

Cette déclaration place le débat sur l'unité canadienne sur un plan beaucoup plus acceptable. Le Conseil des Affaires Franco-Ontariennes accepte cette position dont il a du reste félicité M. Korey dans une lettre et dans les médias Franco-Ontariens. En ce qui nous concerne, le message était responsable et courageux.

Cette nouvelle approche du canadianisme est un signe d'espoir et elle encourage les Franco-Ontariens à une coopération plus étroite avec les communautés ethniques. Une telle assurance d'appui à l'égard des Canadiens français leur permettra de perdre leur complexe d'assimilation et les encouragera à amorcer un dialogue productif.

Avant d'être membres d'un groupe culturel, nous sommes tous des êtres humains, désireux de sécurité, de respect, d'appréciation et de compréhension. Cette nouvelle optique risque de nous rapprocher au lieu de nous éloigner. Je crois profondément en l'avenir de mon pays et, puisque l'Ontario a un rôle d'animation très important dans le débat sur l'unité canadienne, une nouvelle approche des droits des peuples fondateurs et des autres communautés formées par l'immigration peut très bien être un facteur dominant d'une solution acceptable et qui donne lieu d'espérer.

Annexe A

I. QUI SONT-ILS?

Pour beaucoup d'Ontariens, les Franco-Ontariens sont aussi peu connus que Joe Clark. Les Franco-Ontariens, c'est qui? La présence française en Ontario remonte aux explorations de Champlain, à l'œuvre des missionnaires jésuites en Huronie, à l'établissement des postes de traite français, tels que Fort Rouillé à Toronto, Fort Cataraqui à Kingston, Fort Niagara à Niagara-on-the-Lake. La première école française établie à Kingston en 1670 fut la première école jamais établie en Ontario.

Au XVIII^e siècle, des fermiers de langue française s'installèrent en Ontario. En 1793, l'Assemblée législative du Haut Canada approuvait la traduction en français de toutes les lois, instructions et règlements du gouvernement. En 1857, Egerton Ryerson, fondateur reconnu de l'éducation en Ontario écrivait:

> ... Le français est la langue officielle du pays ainsi que l'anglais. Les conseillers scolaires peuvent, légalement, autoriser l'enseignement des deux langues dans les écoles si les parents désirent que leurs enfants apprennent les deux langues.

Malheureusement, aucune garantie des droits des francophones de l'Ontario n'était incorporée à l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique (article 133) qui, pourtant, garantit les droits de la minorité anglophone au Québec.

Dans les années 1880, la région du Nord-Est de l'Ontario était peuplée d'habitants de langue française et, en 1885, plus de 100,000 francophones vivaient en Ontario. Cependant, en 1912, en vertu du règlement 17, l'enseignement du français dans les écoles de l'Ontario fut soudainement interdit et cette situation se prolongea jusqu'en 1927. C'est seulement en 1968 que le français fut reconnu comme une langue officielle d'instruction au niveau de l'école secondaire.

Un Franco-Ontarien est une personne dont la langue maternelle est le français et qui, normalement, parle le français à la maison. Certains Franco-Ontariens descendent des immigrants qui arrivèrent dans la province au début des années 1800 du Québec et du Nouveau-Brunswick. D'autres descendent d'immigrants plus récents arrivés du Québec, du Nouveau-Brunswick, de France et des pays francophones d'Afrique.

Pour certains, les Franco-Ontariens semblent être un peuple sans histoire. Il est évident que l'histoire franco-ontarienne n'a ni la couleur ni le panache de l'épopée acadienne avec Evangéline et la Déportation, ni de héros légendaire comme Louis Riel au Manitoba.

Dans l'ensemble, les Franco-Ontariens sont honnêtes, durs au travail et conservateurs. Ils ont participé au développement des régions de l'Est et du Nord-Est de la province et du comté d'Essex dans le Sud. Ils se sont efforcés de préserver leur langue malgré l'opposition. N'empêche qu'il demeure difficile de définir l'identité culturelle des Franco-Ontariens.

En ce qui concerne la culture, les Franco-Ontariens, comme la plupart des Canadiens, cherchent encore leur identité. Il est encore très difficile de définir exactement ce que l'on entend par culture franco-ontarienne. En général, les Franco-Ontariens qui refusent d'être assimilés ont certains traits particuliers qui, cependant, ne sont pas suffisamment prononcés pour qu'on puisse les distinguer facilement. Les Franco-Ontariens, qui sont en général très conservateurs, ont un tempérament latin mais sont influencés par la civilisation nord-américaine. Les Franco-Ontariens désirent vivre en bons termes avec la population anglophone et, souvent, ils préfèrent éviter toute confrontation. Bien que la majorité désire une coexistence de langues et de cultures, les Franco-Ontariens – surtout les jeunes et une certaine élite – n'en sont pas moins à la recherche d'une identité francophone plus nettement définie.

II. COMBIEN Y A-T-IL DE FRANCO-ONTARIENS ET OÙ VIVENT-ILS?

Dans le sud de l'Ontario, il y a 140,000 francophones, d'Oshawa à Windsor. Il y a aussi des groupes assez importants dans la région de Windsor, à Welland et à Penetanguishene. Bien qu'il soit parfois difficile de rencontrer de nombreuses personnes de langue française à Toronto, leur nombre dépasse 60,000. Au lieu de vivre dans les quartiers français, ils sont dispersés dans toute la Communauté urbaine de Toronto. Dans le Nord-Est de l'Ontario, on en compte 172,000 et ils constituent un pourcentage considérable de la population des régions de North Bay, Sudbury, Timmins et Kapuskasing. Tout le monde est conscient de la présence des francophones dans l'Est de l'Ontario, à Ottawa, Hawkesbury, Cornwall. Il y en a environ 170,000 dans ces régions.

Le manque d'écoles de langue française et de services en français a freiné le désir de nombreuses personnes de langue française de continuer à "vivre en français". D'après le recensement de 1971, plus de 750,000 Ontariens sont d'ascendance française mais seulement un demi-million parle français. Ce qui peut expliquer pourquoi les Franco-Ontariens craignent d'être assimilés et réclament un traitement différent dans l'éventualité d'une refonte de la constitution canadienne.

III. INSTITUTIONS FRANCO-ONTARIENNES

Éducation: 390 écoles élémentaires et secondaires de langue française

117,000 élèves

5,200 enseignants

2 universités bilingues

3 collèges universitaires bilingues

2 collèges d'arts appliqués et de technologie bilingues

Économie: 72 caisses populaires dont l'actif combiné dépasse $300,000,000

14 coopératives

300 entreprises privées qui appartiennent à des Franco-Ontariens et sont gérées par eux

Culture: 40 clubs sociaux
3 groupes de théâtre permanents
90 centres culturels
200 paroisses de langue française

Communication: 2 stations de télévision
8 stations de radio
1 journal quotidien
5 journaux hebdomadaires

IV. CE QUE VEULENT LES FRANCO-ONTARIENS

protégés tout comme l'article 133 de la constitution de 1867 garantissait les droits de la minorité de langue anglaise du Québec.

En particulier, les Franco-Ontariens veulent une constitution qui leur garantisse ce qui suit:

1 la reconnaissance du français comme langue officielle à tous les niveaux de gouvernement
2 des services gouvernementaux en langue française
3 le droit de gérer et d'administrer un système d'éducation en langue française
4 la reconnaissance du statut spécial de la culture canadienne française, mise sur un pied d'égalité avec les cultures des Canadiens de langue anglaise et des autochtones.

Presentation Three

MR. NICK LELUK, M.P.P.

In the short period of time available to me, I want to touch on a few of the philosophical stepping stones that have carried this province along the path of ethnocultural policy formation. Normally in a speech such as this, it would be natural for a provincial member of parliament to dwell at some length on the many programs that have been implemented at the provincial level to support and preserve the vitality of ethnocultural communities. But I think this group already understands full well what the province is doing today, and perhaps I could just mention, by way of example, the fact that in our heritage language program, we now have over 52,000 pupils in Ontario signed up for almost 2,000 classes in 30 languages.

Let's return, though, to those philosophical stepping stones I mentioned. I think the first is perhaps the recognition that Canada is an enormously large country which houses a relatively tiny population. That kind of geographical fact creates problems in almost every area of government activity, whether we're talking about transportation or television, and it's not surprising that it also creates difficulties relating to the whole question of national unity.

The second stepping stone proceeds directly from the first. We all understand that ethnocultural communities are sprinkled in very definite ways across the map of Canada, and we can understand their own quite natural feeling that, if any level of government is going to help them with program support, it's probably going to be the level most closely associated with their own region. I'm not for a moment suggesting that ethnocultural communities do not share a truly national commitment, and I will speak in a moment about how in fact they do, but the point I am making here is that in terms of dollars and cents, it is only reasonable that an ethnocultural community should look to the provincial government for help. Having said that, I think Canadian multiculturalism must be something of a puzzle to an outside observer. Such an observer would appreciate that multiculturalism means that ethnocultural communities work together, but he might ask how that fosters unity, since these communities are not working to resolve their differences, but to preserve them. The best answer we could give him would probably be a quote from the 1976–77 Annual Report of The Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism:

> Canada has entered a critical period in her history, and the ethno-cultural communities have an unusual role to play in determining the future. Their dedication to their own cultures has imparted a deep understanding of the cultural aspirations of other groups. ...
>
> It could be that the nation's ethno-cultural communities will bind the nation together and preserve its unity.

I would like to say, that in the entire dialogue on national unity that has so consumed this nation's attention over the course of the months since Mr. Levesque became Premier of Quebec, Dr. Korey's suggestion that our ethnocultural communities could save the fabric of Canadian unity impresses me as one of the freshest and most exciting prospects in an area that has been characterized by hostility, frustration and disillusionment.

You know, it is all well and good for politicians or civil servants to believe that they have all the answers. But I suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen, that their perspective may be just a little too comfortable. Members of Canada's ethnocultural communities have come from all over the world, from places where freedom is little more than a dream, from political structures that would send in tanks where we send in "task forces". Those of us who have come from such places understand only too well the preciousness of our confederation, and the urgency to protect it for our children, and their children's children. That is why the approach of my government has been to *invite* the participation of private citizens in the formulation of an approach to the defence of our country. When Premier Davis officially opened the Destiny Canada Conference on July 27 of last year, he said, and I quote:

> ...Canada's destiny is not a matter for governments to decide alone or in isolation. Indeed, experience has taught me that, without public discussion and understanding, without the support of Canadians who care, the governments of this country cannot hope to find acceptable and workable solutions.

Of all the thoughts that the Premier has expressed on the subject of national unity, perhaps the most pertinent was a comment he made in May of 1977; and, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a remark that strikes a particularly responsive chord within me. The Premier said: "In the context of the issue of unity, it is particularly important that Canada's multicultural heritage not be pushed aside or left out of the dynamics of the process of shaping unity." Surely all of us must agree with that sentiment. Surely it is clear that we have something unique here in Canada – a multicultural heritage that holds forth the promise of enriching all our lives. Multiculturalism is not simply the de facto Canadian reality: it is a distinctly Canadian strength which will lead this nation to a more ideal society where all can live together in harmony.

I want to conclude my remarks, Mr. Chairman, by touching on the last of those philosophical stepping stones that has carried me this far. That thought is most directly expressed in the rather banal comment that multiculturalism is a "challenge" for the province. Now, why do I use the overworked word "challenge"? Because of the question that penetrates my government's approach: How do we respond on an individual basis to the individual requirements of differing ethnocultural communities, while ensuring at the same time that our government is seen to be equitable and impartial in its involvement with all groups, whether the group be the metro Chinese community or a francophone group in Northern Ontario? I trust I can assure you that for our part, Ontario believes the question has already been successfully answered. We think that the collective role which our ethnocultural communities occupy in Canada's current historical context could not, at least in Ontario, have been achieved otherwise.

Presentation Four

ALEX CHUMAK
Trustee, Toronto Board of Education

In dealing with education and National Unity, I should like to state at the outset that education has, to a large extent, failed to inculcate a sense of pride in being Canadian. Until very recently, our curricula had little, if any, concentrated core programs that dealt with Canadianism. Coupled with this, our educational system, until recently, has rarely focused on the make-up of our society – a pluralistic, multicultural society.

Bearing this in mind, the events of last November in Quebec suddenly woke up all Canadians. Suddenly, questions of Canadianism, patriotism, and the like became in vogue. Unity and its related subjects were in focus. A Task Force on Unity was appointed and numerous unity groups emerged all over the country.

It is my submission Mr. Chairman, that many of these will become exercises in futility unless our educational system incorporates, almost immediately, an intensive and thorough programme on Canadianism. This should include, not only a history of Canada, but the sociology and present composition of the Canadian Mosaic.

Our children must be taught, from the formative years, about our country and its history. For example, we read in history books that Lord Selkirk was the first settler of the west. Once we investigate this further, we find that the first settler in the Western provinces was a black person. Knowing this fact, changes the perspective of the black population in Canada. And there are many similar examples where either inaccurate or incomplete information is taught to youngsters in our schools.

What I am suggesting Mr. Chairman, is that proper and accurate content must be taught. Through education, our youngsters can learn to appreciate the richness of our country, and consequently, can become better citizens.

I have already mentioned one way how unity can be linked through education. If I am taught from the initial stages about my country, then it follows that I will develop a strong bond toward it. But we must not stop there. Canada's population is approximately 1/3 multicultural. By definition, the content of other cultures must be taught in our schools. In other words, if I am taught about the East Indian culture, for example then it no longer will be strange or even foreign to me. My level of understanding will be raised and consequently acceptance will follow.

If we transfer this to Quebec, and learn more about the Quebecois, we will begin to appreciate the beauty, the depth and the richness that we have in our country.

In short, education and Unity are strongly linked. We must make presentations to our Boards of Education to initiate programs that will assist all of us to become better citizens.

Presentation Five

SENATOR STANLEY HAIDASZ
First Minister of Multiculturalism

It is for me a privilege and a real pleasure to be with you in this morning to discuss the aim of unity and ohe multicultural community. The organizers of this conference asked me to devote a few minutes on constitutional aspects of unity and the multicultural community. I think it is a very timely theme. As you know, since the provincial election and separatist party came to power in Quebec, the problems of separation and constitutional reform have been in the foreground. I am not going to take up your time to review the historic development of Canada's constitution which is mainly the written document – the British North American Act of 1867 with its 22 amendments upto the year 1964. But I do wish that all of us here this morning to discuss the various issues will recall that there have been serious attempts by the Federal Government, not only to find the amending formula to the constitution, but also ways to patriate the constitution to Canada. You will recall the formula of 1963. I hope you will also recall the efforts in the Federal-Provincial Conferences which took place during the government of Pearson, and the present government to do something with our constitution which was passed in London, England by the Parliament of United Kingdom in 1867.

One of the great achievements of the Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conferences was the Victoria Conference, and we thought we had every readiness for approval but the Govt. of Quebec blocked the resolution. Since then there have been in the Senate and House of Commons a Joint Committee studying the constitution across Canada, and they have proposed that in the Preamble of a new constitution for Canada there be the recognition of the Canadian reality and the cultural pluralism which exist in our society.

There have been also other attempts. For example, when our Prime Minister was the Minister of Justice, he proposed in January 1968 a Canadian Charter of Human Rights in which there was also a paragraph on linguistic rights which guarantees that Canadians should have free choice of language of instruction for their children. You know that has been blocked in Quebec by the Official Language Act of Bourrassa and Levesque governments. So we come to the stage we are today. I believe on the eve of the federal general election, this is a very timely conference. For I am sure that the main political parties during this campaign will raise this constitutional reform as a major election campaign, along with national unity.

So we find ourselves even in this conference as fathers of a new confederation for a new Canada. In our discussion this morning, we must reflect on the serious issue of Canadian unity as it will be accomplished in a new constitution, or in amendments to the present one. In this discussion I just like to state that Hon. Norman Cafik, Minister of Multiculturalism, yesterday came out with several suggestions and proposals. I want to say there should be a new constitution, and that in the preamble, there be not only a recognition of multiculturalism as it is existing in Canada today, but also of an equality of opportunity for all Canadians in all our political, social, educational and economic institutions. Saskatchewan and Manitoba as well as Alberta have already given multiculturalism a statutory presence in their laws. The second report of the Canadian Consultative on Multiculturalism have asked also and recommended statutory presence of Multiculturalism. We, I think, should go much further today and ask for the presence and recognition of multiculturalism and equal opportunity in the Preamble to the new constitution.

Presentation Six

MR. ODOARDO DISANTO, M.P.P.

I am glad to participate in this conference with pleasure because it gives me the opportunity of throwing some ideas that I hope will be debated. The multicultural people, the ethnic groups who live in Toronto, in Ontario, and in Canada will help the people of the founding groups of this country to understand what we are talking about, what our problems are, and what kind of contributions we want to make to this country.

Many people are using the word "multiculturalism", the word has become fashionable. Multiculturalism is a good idea and it is good for Canada. But I like to introduce some controversial ideas. Multiculturalism is a meaningless concept unless we are able to translate it into action. Government and all of us in policies and programme think that multiculturalism will be an effective part of the Canadian life.

For our children we think multiculturalism shoud be introduced at schools. That is why we have been fighting for years in order to have the third languages taught to ethnic children as well as to Canadian children. We think that by teaching children of different ethnic groups their own languages has two important goals: to give them the opportunity to retain their cultural heritage, and to give them an opportunity to communicate with their parents and in that way filling up a gap which is existing in every ethnic community in Canada. This is an important policy and we should subscribe to it. If this programme is followed, the rate of drop-out will be minimized, and the academic result will be improved. We think a legislation should be introduced in the Ontario Parliament to incorporate this. It is nothing revolutionary. It is only common sense.

Questions and Replies

The assembly directed the following questions to the panel members on their presentations:

QUESTION:
If special status is granted to French-Canadians, does this not make the multicultural peoples, at least by inference, a lesser class?

REPLY by Mr. Deslauriers: From the linguistic point of view, the French want and need a special recognition; a linguistic right to extend to institutions, hospitals and schools.

QUESTION: What status would the panel like to see attained for Indian languages in the new constitution?

REPLY by Senater Dr. Haidasz: For all official purposes in Canada (i.e., dealing with the Federal Government) every Canadian citizen should have the right to use one or the other of the official languages in Canada. The cultural enrichment program gave financial assistance to the teaching of all languages in Canada. The constitution of Canada, and the Canadian Charter of Human Rights (1968), both enshrine the linguistic rights of Canadians.

QUESTION: What steps can be taken to maintain the equality of every person in this country?

REPLY by Prof. Ruprecht: With the inclusion in the constitution "that every person shall have equal opportunity and shall not be prejudiced because of race, religion or colour", equality would be the quantum right of every person.

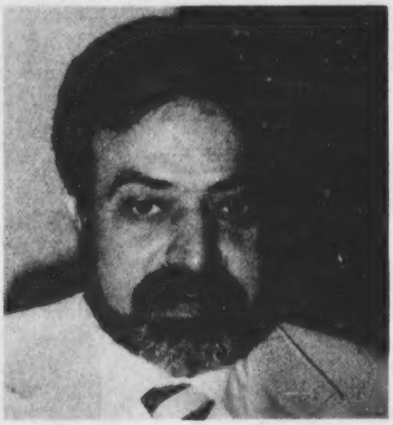
Concerns expressed by the assembly were that it was hoped that the consultative process begun with the minorities would not cease, when the dream of a united Canada is achieved; that it be understood that the unity of Canada was the number one priority of the assembly; and, that the multi-racial aspect of our society receive some emphasis in discussions.

VIEW OF YOUTH ON UNITY

Introduction: PROF. J. MAVALWALA
Presentation 1: MARIA AUGIMERI
Presentation 2: GARY YEE
Presentation 3: BASIL GEROL
Questions and Replies

Introduction

PROFESSOR JAMSHED MAVALWALA,
University of Toronto



I think we are individual human beings in our own right. We are a truely multicultural society and ethnicity is important to us when we wish it to be important and when we wish we will take our labels and use them, and others should not lay this label on us and expect us to be Ukrainian, Polish, East Asian, Japanese or whatever at their convenience. And then we would like to reply to the Federal Government of Canada and to all of us in Canada who has used this label that we learn to listen to individuals and we begin to realize when we talk about the divisive elements in the ethnic groups we are talking about phenomenon of artificial and somewhat latently wrong labels and there is no such thing as the Chinese community on a holistic basis. One seventh of the world's population belongs to that label, and we are using this in ignorance and in error. An individual Canadian who comes here from Singapore, North or South Korea, or from Northern or Southern China has a right to say exactly who he is and when he wishes to delve with behind that label.

We, on this panel, have decided that we will not use any label so that you would be able to listen to each as an individual. We hope as individuals we are live persons who believe in what we believe in, a part of which is determined by our ethnicity, a part of which is determined by our age, a part of which by our sex, and a part of which is determined by you who make up the context under which we live.

Presentation One

MARIA ANGIMERI

I am an Italian-Canadian, an Italo-Canadian, a hyphenated Canadian. The hyphen separating these two words is symbolic of the tie binding together members of two cultures. Neither totally Italian, nor wholly Canadian, confusion regarding the issue of identity impedes our full participation in many spheres of Canadian society.

Although those of Italian origin number approximately 400,000 of the residents in the city of Toronto alone, a complete realization of what this particular ethnic identity actually signifies, has yet to be realized.

Being Italian means being different. To those of my parents' generation, it means having relatives who have remained in the homeland and who are painfully remembered daily. It means worrying that children are being influenced by Anglo-Canadian patterns of behaviour which offer a frightening contrast to traditional norms.

To grandparents, it means living in a household where their grandchildren are unable to carry on a decent conversation in their native tongue. It means isolation. It means loneliness.

For the students and job seekers of my generation, being Italian means being patronized by instructors, professionals and employers. It means tokenism.

For our children with Anglo-Canadian friends, it means shame. They live the fear of being rejected, of being singled out and embarrassed for reasons of customs and traditions assessed as being "undesirable" and "distasteful". Thus ethnic heritage is self-denied. Stress is placed on speaking English and hiding "unacceptable" parents from the school system and from important peers.

To bureaucrats, the term "Italian" is a labelling device utilized to lump together a group of people under the ethnic umbrella and issue policies and statements and speeches all aimed at appeasement, all intended to pacify the potential "ethnic vote". What they have failed to realize is that there is no such thing as "the ethnic vote". We are not lumps of clay ready and willing to be moulded. There are Italian-Canadian feminists. There are Italian-Canadian sexists. There are Italo-Canadian Liberals as there are Italo-Canadian Conservatives. There are Italian-Canadian New Democrats.

We have Southern Italian peasants and we have Northern Italian industrialists. We do not look alike, dress alike and think alike, and therefore cannot be classified and categorized. We are many and thereby belong to a number of different and distinct cultural, recreational and political associations. Why should we compromise our beliefs and individual principles to come together and form one main group merely to serve governmental expediency? There are, of course, certain wishes that many of us do have in common. I hope you can gain a feel for what these are by the time my speech has ended. Let us begin by examining the meaning of a word: Multiculturalism.

Contrary to popular belief, Multiculturalism is *not* a policy. It is *not* a bill to be passed and repassed in the Legislature or in the House of Commons. It is *not* limited to these sterile conceptions and definitions. It is certainly not reflected in restrictive immigration laws and in the adoption of foreign student fees within our university system. True Multiculturalism is healthy integration – integration which would preserve a sense of identity with our origins, display the richly-endowed heritage of which we take part, while simultaneously allow the opportunity to contribute our distinctive piece to the puzzle which is Canada.

Fear of what is "strangely different" would be reduced through the utilization of educational resources. Integration would ultimately lessen the state of isolation in which some of Canada's ethnic minorities now find themselves. Alienation from the majority culture as well as from other minority groups remains the primary cause for much factionalism and strained relations between ethnic communities.

There will, in time and effort, eventually emerge the discovery that there can indeed be pleasure in diversity and not solely those painful experiences locked in our memory, of times maligned and ridiculed by Anglo-Canadian insistence to conform – to conform not only linguistically, but socio-culturally as well. What one must realize, is that a dual-natured problem presents itself in the Italo-Canadian dilemma, one of ethnicity and one of class.

Since so great a portion of the post-war Italian immigrants who chose to live in Canada were originally from rural or peasant backgrounds, we must not only face the obvious barriers that generally retard immigrant integration, barriers such as language; but our problems are compounded by the stigma which socio-economic and socio-cultural biases inevitably bring, for the peasant or "folk" ingredients of a culture are often placed beneath its "classical" or "artistic" products, and peasant culture *is* to a large extent folk culture, transmitted through the generations without the use of formal instruction but rather through informal means. It embraces all the habits and behaviour and manifestations which are preserved by the common people through oral tradition.

Italian folk practices flourished in closely-knit communities and have found their way, through the immigration of their perpetuators, to urban North America. Preservation and pride associated with folk customs would serve to promote group cohesiveness through the revival of a former era, a former locale, a former spirit, and the belief and relief that this spirit is valued in our present environment. Our dilemma arises when discomfort is felt at demonstrations of Italian rural traditions. A religious procession for example, often fosters anxiety on both the part of the participant and the uncomprehending observer.

Ignorance is the sole villain in this dilemma. It manifests itself in the form of a cruel, vicious cycle. Abuse of a minority leads to one of either two courses: Shame and fear, and the consequent result in the rejection of the ethnic community, or, ethnocentrism may develop.

Ethnocentric behaviour serves to fortify a group's ego. It enhances bonding within the group. It incorporates all aspects of a culture and maintains that these aspects are preferrable to those of other societies. Unfairness in the treatment of a minority ultimately results in reciprocal feelings of resentment. Thus, the majority culture's chauvinism sets the stage where the minority is forced to develop its own ethnocentrism in an effort to defend itself. This type of self-defense, in turn, leads to further prejudice, increased bigotry and finally to disastrous results.

Needless to say that ethnocentrism fragments a country, and as history has proven, it has fragmented a world.

I do not mean to imply that the ideal construction of an identity within this country is one which is bound and gagged by ethnic origins and fear for ethnic survival – a defence mechanism which at its outset strives to "prove others wrong". Rather, it is one which allows for a healthy environment, one which permits individual and collective growth, an expansion of talent, of intergroup relations, of awareness and sensibility towards other cultures.

In order to speak of *identity*, we must not ignore the element of *pride*, which is automatically included in a discussion pertaining to an identity crisis. Pride in one's self, in one's group, calls for the virtues of self-confidence and self-esteem, in order for that group to feel at ease within the social system. We must be assured that our special knowledge and talents are desirable, that they are worthy contributions to the larger society.

Presently, not only are Italo-Canadian contributions minimized and rejected but we are made to feel that *anglicization* in every form is the standard ideal. Many of our people have internalized this standard, believing it is the only viable course open to us. Even our daily language gives testimony to the increasing amount of influence Anglo-Canadian culture holds over us. We draw apart from our heritage through the use of a language form which is progressively distancing itself from Italian and is gradually becoming a mere dialect of English itself. How can we identify with a culture which is becoming increasingly foreign to us? Insecurity does not breed self-confidence.

Our family structure is slowly prying itself apart. Children, within the Canadian educational system, are often not taught to respect the beauty of diversity. Rather, they are prodded to conform, to accept, to lose customs and traditions cherished for centuries.

The Provincial Government *has* partially recognized the fact that immigrant children and children of immigrant parents have certain specific wishes. These parents have the definite right to have at least a portion of their tax dollars spent towards the creation of school programs suited to their particular needs. The result: third language training has been partially subsidized and endorsed and the Heritage Language Program has materialized.

However, this concept of learning a third language within the public educational system has met with some resistance from individual School Boards. Under the guise of cost, North York, Etobicoke, Scarborough and East York have refused to offer the Heritage Language Program during the past academic year. North York is presently considering the introduction of a $25.00 fee per student wishing to enrol in the program, a move which will doubtlessly act as a deterrent to many parents experiencing financial restraint, who would otherwise applaud the idea of a Heritage Language Program.

The Toronto Board of Education, the Borough of York and The Metropolitan Separate School Board, all have offered Heritage Language programming throughout this past year. They have experienced extremely favourable results. Children enjoy this joining of home and school, this liaison with their heritage.

Shrinking enrolments and bleak enrolment projections are given by, for instance, Etobicoke and North York. Could this be an indication that these Boards are not responding to the needs of *all* their students? Why is it that the Metropolitan Separate School Board is not losing *nearly* as many children as are these Boards who are not offering a Heritage Language Program?

Our children are frozen in the closed circle constructed for them by social pressures. Their will to succeed within their diversity, is quickly overcome by the fear of attempting and failing. Inferiority, the unspoken fear, remains unspoken, therefore, undealt with. They resist being labelled "Italian" for all the pejorative connotations this term seems to bring to mind through bigoted stereotyping.

Distanced from our mother culture with ever increasing speed and agility, our children are largely influenced towards identification with Anglo-Canadian phenomena. The attempt to anglicize themselves is a frustrating one. They do not fit the mould and are thereby left unfulfilled, transparent – celluloid Canadians. There is no static role model with which the children are able to identify. An emptiness is felt. There exists a lack of familiarity, familiarity so fundamental to the security a people need to feel safe, to feel wanted. Hence, some panic to preserve traditional norms, familiar belief systems.

Federal and provincial funds to sponsor some light-hearted concert provide an incomplete identity – a false sense of security. We are, for an hour, for a day, for the token week, allowed to entertain both ourselves and "outsiders". The concession is made. The "ethnic opinion" is favourable, and all are supposedly content. We do not want concessions. What we do desire, is a dedication on both sides to work towards a reasonable understanding and appreciation.

It is not our wish to remain behind a fluctuating Gallup Poll. Must we forever wait for the calling of an election in order to be granted needy funds to carry our community projects? This practice merely indicates to us, as it should to all of Canada, that we are repeatedly used, or more correctly, misused, as political pawns.

Presentation Two

GARY YEE

Multiculturalism is inseparable from the Canadian experience. An identity implies a uniqueness and our identity rests on our multiculturalism. Our polity is a diverse one and society a mosaic one. As Aristotle said, virtue lies in the mean between two extremes, and the mosaic society is the mean between the melting pot assimilation of the United States and the apartheid segregation of South Africa. But our society is being challenged by the decay of the glue binding the Francophones. It is the job of the rest of Canada to overcome this challenge, not by coercing Quebec, but by convincing Quebec. We as the third force can play a role in this. We have the opportunity to show that Canada can prosper and learn from the differences within our society, and unite and cooperate from our similarities. We can prove that Canada as a nation is more than a mere conglomeration of diverse cultures and sections, collectively we can form a whole greater than the sum of parts.

The history of Canada has been marked by a great influx of immigrants. The diversity of this influx is a major contributor to our national identity. Recently there has been much furor over immigrants. One controversy rests over the question of whether or not, there is a difference between present third world immigration and earlier European immigration. One claims that both groups are subject to the same hardships. But there is the factor of being visible minority. Furthermore, the recent economic conditions are less conducive to the desirability of immigration. Any ways, even if the present non-white immigrants are experiencing the same hardships and prejudice as the earlier white immigrants, it does not mean that they have no right to complain a bit more than those of the past. The development of civilized man and the progress of humankind and society should dictate that we condemn and prevent past errors and injustices.

Prejudice and racism is a volatile arena of discussion. Personal prejudices are inherent in our nature. But while we can't eliminate it, we can minimize it. My own experiences with racism are few. At least it seems that way. I fear I may have become so habituated to it that I no longer take much notice of it. But if I delve deeper into my memory, I can pick out countless instances of derogatory or oblique references to the fact that I am Chinese. I work in my father's variety and gifts store, and I often experience explicit racial comments or actions from numerous kids. I've given up asking them why they do things like that since it's impossible to reason with them. I excuse them for being too young to know better. I do not recall ever experiencing the explicit racism of an adult, at least a sober one. Most of us do well in suppressing or reducing our childhood prejudices. But suppression is not enough. The dangers of implicit or unconscious racial attitudes are immense. Another problem is the very fine line between racism in jest and racism in earnest. It is hard to tell them apart. Many of my friends occasionally call me "my little yellow friend", a phrase taken from my hero, Inspector Clouseau addressing his friend Kato. This is an amiable reference to my race and in fact, I think it's cute. But other remarks of a racist nature are not as clear-cut in relation to the inner feelings of the agent of the remarks. Being an extremely nice guy, I usually give the benefit of a doubt to the person. But other times, my heart gets a little more cracked and another pang of sorrow registers – a sorrow for that person and a sorrow for humankind in general.

As a visible minority in the eyes of the public, I am an obvious representative of the Chinese. The undiscerning eye may play it safe and classify me as an Oriental. And the really inexperienced eye may transform me into a Japanese or a Korean. Whatever the case, everytime I am in public, I feel like a representative of the Chinese. This has placed certain restriction upon my actions. I have no desire to be conspicuous. In other words, I have undue pressure to be a nice all-Canadian boy. There is nothing wrong with that, but worry about being rowdy or about being slightly deviant in my actions. A white teenager, if I may use the term, can act slightly off base if he doesn't care too much about what others think of him. But I can't act slightly off base if I care a lot about what others think of the Chinese in Toronto. It might be good to be good, but sometimes it's fun to be bad.

I met many new fellow students during Univeristy orientation activities last September. One of them, a Chinese student, asked me if I was born in Canada. He apparently heard my relative lack of accent and saw certain patterns of behaviour or appearance which suggested that I had been exposed to this country for a long time. When I replied no to his question, he said, "You know, there is a big difference between those who were born here and those who came over." How true it is.

I can classify three general categories of Chinese, at least youthful Chinese, based on superficial or observable behaviour. There are the newcomers or the unaffected. These people tend to stick together, finding comfort and companionship in each other due to the presence of a new and possibly frightening environment. At the other end are the assimilated and accultured Chinese. Many of these were born here or came over while still young. Most of their socialization took place in Canada and thus their behaviour is typically the same as the societal norm. Most do not know the Chinese language too well. The other group is those Chinese in limbo. Most of these came over after some socialization in a Chinese society. They find themselves to be a part of neither the traditional Chinese society nor the general Canadian society. This may be a transitional stage towards assimilation but often it is a very long lasting painful stage of searching for an identity, a slot to fit in. I see myself in the process of becoming assimilated. Much of my behaviour is indistinguishable from the common Western youth's. But I am worried that my values and attitudes are also under pressure to change and thus reduce the dissonance between internal constructs and actual behaviour. I fear this internal assimilation because then the only thing which identifies me as Chinese would be my black hair.

A few years ago, everything I was was due to my family upbringing. Now, an increasingly large part of what I am is due to peer pressure and societal conformity pressures. My conflict can cease only when I establish a solid identity. I am persuaded to adapt to this society because that is the best way to get ahead in it. I feel that my chances of making it in this society are severely limited if I do not exhibit the behaviour and attitudes which this society rewards and advocates.

In Canada, I see a land of much opportunity. I really marvel at it sometimes. My grandmother often comments on things we take for granted in Western society. She is fascinated by television and radio, and she often focuses on the fact that we can eat so much here, as compared to back in China in the old days. I really put on a big smile when I contemplate upon the achievements of my family. Fifteen years ago, who would have thought that someone in our family could actually buy and possess a car. Who would have thought that I could be here talking to you today. Who would have thought that I could become President of the Student Council in a high school of a foreign country. Yes, we are extremely fortunate in having come to Canada. We do have much greater opportunities here, but when I compare these with the established middle class of the dominant society, my viewpoint mellows somewhat. I see much opportunity for all but I see no equality of opportunity between all. No equality of opportunity can exist without some equality of condition. I am not talking about the equality of human skills and knowledge. We all know we differ in ability due to genetic factors. What I am talking about is about the equality of economic condition and environmental condition. Due to a lack of equality in these conditions some of us are born into an environment which leads to a deficiency in opportunity which is not inherent in us. The avenues of mobility do have restricted access. You have to be from a certain social, economic and ethnic background. I have an excellent chance of becoming a lawyer but no matter how good I am, I have little chance of becoming a member of the corporate elite. There is considerable mobility at the lower levels but it becomes increasingly difficult as you try to approach the exclusive elite of this society.

I must say that Canada has been good to us. We have bettered our economic condition and opportunities in an absolute sense. But the non-economic costs are tremendous. I have already elaborated on the personal conflict involved but I must also reflect on the family difficulties. There are two sources of trouble. One rests on the differing norms and values between the ethnic family and the Western society. This is a common problem, and it contributes much to the generation gap. As children we are accused of becoming like "the others" and losing or rejecting our Chinese heritage. As parents, they are accused of being behind the times and slow in accommodating the new environment. The second source of difficulty lies in the sphere of language. We have a very close family but it's hard to express our love due to a lack of communication. Most of you don't know what it's like to try and tell your parents something as simple as "I'm going on an Urban Geography field trip downtown." I can't communicate that statement because I don't know how to describe Urban Geography or how to phrase "field trip" in Chinese. I end up by saying that I'm going downtown to look at buildings. Also, imagine being a parent and always hearing your children chatter away in a language which you don't understand.

I regret that I resisted some form of Chinese education in my childhood. These were economic, time and dialect problems and in the short run, it did not seem essential. Not every immigrant child can or wants to go to two schools at the same time. I myself will have an easier time communicating with my children but unfortunately, it will be on Western terms and in the English language. As the generations continue, it will be harder and harder to grab hold of that last left over of Chinese heritage from the previous generation. The nature of our Chinese Society in Canada may remain distinct but it will be steadily modified by the environment it finds itself in.

I have been a trifle negative in my approach. I hope to mend this bias by ending off on an up note. From a global stance, we are extremely well off. This is a rich land and many streets are still paved with gold. The ordinary man does have the opportunity to rise in this nation, and for the immigrant, to heights he had never previously imagined. As youth, our future lies here and we want a voice in this future. I am a Canadian but I am also Chinese. Canada's future lies in the recognition by all, that statements such as that one are not contradictory. Canada is a microcosm of the entire world. Our battle is not only in the name of Canadian unity but in the name of the unity of humankind as social being.

Some people may suggest that I have lost sight of the theme of the Conference, namely Canadian Unity. But it is true one can only say so much on unity. I desire it and I want Quebec to stay. Someone asked me what we should do about it. I feel that someone should tell me what to do, not the other way around. After all, I'm just an ordinary citizen and I leave it up to the government. It sounds like a cop-out but that's how our society operates.

No one really conquered (or even tried to) the question of how multiculturalism can contribute to a solution for our current Quebec crisis. May be it can't contribute. After all, Francophones want biculturalism, not multiculturalism. But the latter is an undeniable fact of Canadian life. I concentrated on aspects of this life which I was most familiar with and in this perspective, I hope I made a contribution to the Conference.

Presentation Three

BASIL GEROL

In a nation as wealthy and as plentiful as Canada, it is not just an expectation but it is a goal well within our reach that we can have individual, political, economic, and cultural opportunities which are readily available, and which are satisfying and rewarding, no matter where we live or what language we speak. We cannot have a nation that is prosperous and united if our individual and collective rights are not guaranteed, if our people are unemployed, and if government does not decisively commit itself by policy initiative and budgeting to a truly multicultural society.

There is no question that we stand for One Canada, united and indivisible. Special status for only one minority group is essentially and profoundly a division. No one group can have unique and singular privileges over another. We are all Canadians of one nation with equal rights and equal obligations.

It is true that over 111 years ago, Canada was mainly a country comprised of those people of French and English descent. Today Canada is a multicultural nation made up with not only French and English but people of every possible ethnic and cultural background. Canada is now a nation of minorities. We need to encourage our ethnic diversity and understanding because it is what gives our nation strength.

To say all this is to recognize a very old principle – unity within diversity. A nation as large as Canada, some 4 million square miles of territory with 23 million people that represent all backgrounds and origins, cannot be uniform. We need to build Canada as a nation where equality does not mean uniformity, where we can maintain a healthy pride in our individuality, and where we can involve more people more directly in the decision making process. That is the multicultural community together for this conference because we all recognize that this is the road on which Canada travels and best ensures a prosperous, united tomorrow.

The question before us is what action can we take to achieve our goals, goals well articulated by our conference organizers.

First, in this growing debate over constitutional reform, the multicultural community needs to become more actively involved. It requires us to carefully examine the constitutional proposals and recommend changes necessary to ensure our nation's unity as well as our position within the national community. We must then be prepared to represent and fight for our proposals at all governmental levels.

Secondly, if we want lasting input into the decision making process then we must acquire meaningful input and power within political parties. Politicians of ethnic descent that are elected must not be party puppets but true community representatives who are responsive and dependent upon our support. If political parties are reluctant to change, if they seek to carry on any old "elite" tradition,'then change will have to be forced upon them. At every opportunity, the basic lever of politics must be applied: "support meaningful multicultural policy or lose our vote." As it is crude but the most effective method of political persuasion yet devised.

Thirdly, education is the key to our cultural and linguistic heritage. If we are to survive as a community, we will survive through our children. Local boards of education are elected every two years and provide us the best opportunity to organize and coordinate our plans and ensure the election of ethnic representatives to school boards to guarantee our children future education. Otherwise, we will create a generation of people that have no allegiance to either our nation, or heritage or our beliefs.

The time has long since passed when old ideas and prejudices should have been disposed of. We need fresh, creative leadership and open, honest government – especially government that is responsive and representative. Governments must listen far more closely to the wishes of its constituents, its multicultural constituents. Policies need to reflect the cultural and linguistic diversity of this nation. Above all, if we are to be successful, we must elect ethnic people to political office at all levels and with each other's cooperation. Only by decisive and united political action will our goals and objectives ever be fulfilled.

We can build a nation strong, independent and free with prosperity, stability, unity, diversity and justice for all. What it takes is the will and the love, more than just a new constitution and promised policies. What we need is the will to stand together as one – as the multicultural community of Canada, and the faith as free and equal citizens to be a part of this country. Indeed we have that confidence and commitment to begin the task of building Canada in its second century. We only need be so bold as to say it done.

Questions and Replies

QUESTION: Is this Conference a multicultural conference on ethnic identity and its place in ethnic society or is it a conference on national unity?

REPLIES: – Mr. Yee stated that he had spoken about what was familiar to him. He was in favour of national unity, but was not close enough to the issue to say how the inclusion of Quebec in Canada could be achieved.

Ms. Augimeri observed that a dialogue about multiculturalism is a dialogue about unity.

QUESTION: If Canada was to have a new constitution and each one of us could have a part in creating this new constitution, do you think that this would bring about Canadian unity?

REPLIES: – Mr. Gerol felt that the mechanisms by which we make this country work had to reflect the composition of the community.

Ms. Kuras felt that to achieve a new constitution that will contain the desired input, there was a necessity for individual involvement in politics and contact with our elected official representatives.

A concern was expressed by the assembly that there may be a lack in Canada of knowledge, appreciation and love for this country.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Introduction: PROF. WALTER TARNOPOLSKY

Presentation 1: DR. L. POLYMANAKOS

Presentation 2: PROF. GEORGE BANCROFT

Presentation 3: MR. JOSEPH POMERANT, Q.C.

Presentation 4: DR. JAN DUKSZTA, M.P.P.

Introduction

PROF. WALTER TARNOPOLSKY

Just before I introduce our panel, let me say just a few words as Chairman. I would very much like to congratulate the organizers of this conference. In a very short period of time, they did a very tremendous job in bringing so many people together. One of the things that has been repeated by a number of people is: Here is the first step, where do we go from here? May I say that it is not a first step. Some of you will recall as far as 1968 when a number of senators organized First Thinker's Conference. Many of you will remember that there were various kinds of group-submissions to the Biculturalism and Bilingualism Commissions to convince them that it was not necessarily a bicultural country they were thinking of. Actually long before the French Canadians were searching for pluralism. I think we have to recognize that one of the important foundations for the building of the multicultural society is the tremendous contribution made to us by the British groups – the Anglocelts in giving us the fundamentals of the parliamentary system and common law. Within these it was possible for the later people and people who came before to develop their own ways. And there is a part in the British Parliamentary System which, I think, is very important, not just from the multicultural point of view, but from the point of view of the differences in society. The only governmental system that I know of, is that has actually institutionalized the role of the opposition, a loyal opposition. There is no other governmental system that has officially sanctified the position of the opposition. This is an extremely important matter that has come to us by way of contribution from Anglocelts who are in many ways responsible for legal and governmental structures of this country.

Let me say another thing that had been raised by Mr. Cafik yesterday in his excellent speech. He urged us to sort out our own differences. I think he is right in that. On the other hand we should not be perturbed terribly by the differences among us. Canadian society as a whole is not a homogeneous society. So when we are talking about putting our house in order, that does not mean that we should be afraid of a certain number of people feeling differently, or having different points of views. I think obviously we have to find out how we can work together.

If one asks whether or not this conference is organized by a bourgeois-elitist group of people. My answer to this is: "Look at any political party." We all turn out to determine who is going to be our Prime Minister. Yet how many turn out to a political party? Even from the point of view of voting, what percentage do we get? Maybe 60% or 70%. So I will not apologize to anybody how representative this group is. I think what is impressive is that so many people turned out on this Saturday afternoon, the first sunny afternoon this summer.

Presentation One

DR. L. POLYMENAKOS

The Canadian reality of 1978 is that Canada is a different country than it was before the Second World War. One third of the population today are immigrants who have chosen Canada as their home. These people who work out the Canadian mosaic are Canadians by choice, and their children are Canadians by birth. We feel and accept unequivocally that we are Canadians first. Thus a person in Canada says: "I am Greek or Italian,' but when he goes back to the home land of his roots, he says: "I am a Canadian." This demonstrates an assured feeling of Canadian identity.

The concept of multiculturalism, which has been established as an official policy in 1971, is a revolution of the Canadian mosaic. The policy of multiculturalism of the Federal Government and that of the Provincial Government of Ontario is a panacea for avoiding cultural conflicts and promoting Canadian unity. The new cultural pluralism consists of the following basic elements: (a) Equality: equality of all members of our society (b) Access and Participation: this means that no one is denied access to services offered by the government. (c) Cultural Retention i.e., to develop cultural heritage and language.

The most important program of Ontario's multicultural policy is the heritage Language Program. As the President of the Greek Community of the Metropolitan Toronto, I express thanks and gratitude to the Government of Ontario for this program. It now depends upon the Boards of Education to implement the program properly.

Multiculturalism accepts differences in race, rituals, language and culture as a source of enrichment than as a cause of dissension. The ethnocultural communities now have numerical and organizational capacity to exert an influence on the political development of Canada. The ethnocultural communities have a unique understanding of the Canadian problems, and specially, the nationalistic movements, and of the national unity. Without minimizing the economical or constitutional considerations, we can say these movements are founded on group loyalties and aspirations.

Let us make it clear to French Canadians that by Federal and Provincial commitments, the bilingual and multicultural society is there. But we have to remember that the Canadian reality today is that English language is most predominantly spoken in English Canada and French in Quebec or French Canada. English language is today a universal language, as Greek and Latin were in the past, and has a unifying effect on Canadian multicultural society. The success of bilingual and multicultural society has to be promoted by all means. Let the French Canadians share their culture with other ethnocultural groups of Canada. Further promotion of unity within diversity can be done by participation in the bilingual culture by the ethnocultural communities, and also the ethnocultural communities must promote a spirit of understanding the others. Canadianism is a concept that has to be accepted by all of us, specially by the young generation, because it provided cultural diversity within the frame work of national unity. To the question: "Where do we go from here?", the answer is: to the preservation of a nation which is strong in unity and rich in cultural diversity. Long live a united Canada.

Presentation Two

PROF. GEORGE BANCROFT, *University of Toronto*

There is a very well-known Negro spiritual that contains these words, "Everybody talking about heaven ain't going there." The wordy debates on multiculturalism and on national unity frequently remind me of these words. We are talking a great deal about these concepts; are we getting closer to achieving them as goals? Sometimes I wonder...

And I wonder for several reasons. Here are a few.

1 To-day the rate of unemployment in Canada is extremely high. So is inflation. To ask the man in the street, concerned about his precarious job security and crushing inflation what he things about the urgency of producing a multicultural society in this country would, most likely be to invite a loud laugh or a blank stare – except insofar as, irately though mistakenly, he sees immigrants as being responsible for the country's economic difficulties.

By extension, too, one wonders if the immigrant labourer, himself a worker concerned about his job and inflation, would not have an almost similar view, except that for him a policy of multiculturalism may in some ways ease the burdens of racial discrimination in areas such as jobs, housing and education.

The same question can be posed about national unity. In short, is the man or woman in the street, struggling to earn a living, really interested in the grandeur of the design of multiculturalism and national unity – except very tangentially – or is his/her burning concern bread, butter, shelter and schooling? I wonder.

Probably the issue of multiculturalism is of concern only to the middle class, caught as it always is at the vulnerable point between the lower and the upper classes. Incidentally, one wonders, also, how seriously interested are the privileged Canadian upper and upper-middle classes in multiculturalism – an interest in national unity does not necessarily imply an interest in or an acceptance of multiculturalism.

2 Talking about the middle class leads logically to a second issue that disturbs me. In several speeches made at this conference, and in much of the promotional literature, it has been claimed that "we are the third force," that huge segment of the population that is neither Anglo – Celtic nor Gallic. Several speakers have also pointed proudly to the fact that this third force is made up of some 40 different ethnic groups; so that we are speaking or can be, with a powerful third voice.

But, in my view, this is all rhetoric and delusion.

Let us consider, first, the position of the participants as a group in the Canadian social structure. My hypothesis is that most of us are professional people: professors, engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers. *We are the ethnic bourgeoisie*? It may be that we are the ones who are going to benefit from the whole debate on multiculturalism and national unity because, were this new society to come about, we would be the ones most likely to become the "ethnic" superintendents of education or deans of faculties of engineering.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not saying that the ethnic bourgeoisie should bemoan the fact that it will be among the beneficiaries. What I am arguing for, as we consider where we go from here, is that those of us who, by virtue of our jobs, are in this stratum, should honestly examine our motives and recognize our common interest with the ordinary man in the street who comes from the so-called "ethnic minorities" that we represent. The destiny of the Polish professor or the Guyanese judge in Canada is intimately bound up with the destiny of the Polish peanut seller on the sidewalks of Yonge Street and the Guyanese porter who nightly cleans the toilets in our palatial downtown hotel.

My second point in connection with the notion of the strength of the third force is the delusion that the forty or so groups that comprise it are united. It would be interesting to discover compatriots of members of which groups in the present assemblage are guilty of directing various forms of racism to compatriots of members of other groups present here.

In this connection I have a simple suggestion to make, namely, that some machinery be established – call it a congress of ethnic peoples if you will – whereby members of the 40 different sub divisions of this third force can meet periodically to try to develop a truly effective, united third voice – if that really is what we want to have developed.

Let me raise my final point. One of the core challenges in planning for a nationally unified multicultural society should be that of providing equality of opportunity *for all and not for a token few* – redundant though the emphasised phrase is.

In my view, we need to push for a full and not a selective equality of opportunity. In order to achieve this, there desperately needs to be what I would call a "psychic breakthrough."

What do I mean by a psychic break through? Let me try an experiment with you. I shall give you a list of four names and ask you to extend the list by adding four more. Here's my list:

MASSEY
VANIER
MICHENER
LEGER

I am almost sure that most of you have extended this list of homegrown governors-general of Canada by adding, alternatingly, Anglo-Saxon or -Celtic and French Canadian names.

But where are names such as Tarnapolsky, Polymenakos, Imai, Ray – names that figure prominently on the program or in the committees of this conference? names of people neither English nor French. My point is that, in the truly multicultural nation state, that Canada aspires to become, every Canadian subcultural group should have a chance, *in the minds of all Canadians*, of having representatives considered as occupants of *any* position in the Canadian social structure, whether it is the governor-generalship, the supreme court, the stock exchange, the police force or the directorship of education.

Indeed, a specific comment with respect to the last mentioned position will help me make my point of the psychic break through. The major board of education in Canada, in my view, is the Toronto board. The director of this board has always been of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic stock. But the student body that it currently serves is predominantly not of the founding races. It would be interesting to see when the Toronto board, on which interestingly enough "ethnic" persons sit, will appoint an "ethnic" as its director of education.

And so you ask me where do we go from here? In my view these, by way of conclusion, should be among our goals:

1 Clearer recognition of the economic and social needs of the man in the street as having priority over talk about multiculturalism and national unity – if the latter is only grand rhetoric or exhortation.
2 Clearer recognition of the intimate interdependent of the concerns of the "ethnic bourgeoisie" with those of the less privileged "ethnic worker."
3 Strategies such as establishing a periodic Congress of Ethnic Peoples that would meaningfully result in their determining their common interests.
4 Designing programs that would promote full, effective equality of opportunity rather than selective equality for a few. And
5 Probably most complex of all, facilitating a psychic breakthrough in the minds of *all* Canadians that would lead them to realize that the Canada of the two founding races that stretches from sea to shining sea and to which, it was once predicted, the 21st century belonged is now evolving into a multiethnic, multiracial, multicultural society that may make good its claim to the 21st century if it does so as a nationally united federation.

Presentation Three

JOSEPH POMERANT, Q.C.

The points I have to make are two, and I hope these are simple points. The first point is this: There is a new Canada, and it is a Canada that is as much a product of the people who are sitting here, as it is a product of the people who historically set and governed the country in style and spirit. Our public school texts that are taught to our children do not reflect the new reality that exists in this country today. The new Canada, the new history that will be written for our children's children, will reflect that we are Canada, as much as the Canada that was built by the Anglo-saxon communities and the French freedom-fighters. We are that Canada as well.

There is a great deal of talk in this country about Canadian unity. It is said that we, the new Canada must demonstrate to the old Canada that even though there is virtue in having one's culture and one's own identity maintained and referred to in one's language, clothing, spirit, song, and remembrances, if there is an absence of a simple value, and a simple philosophical desire and need manifested to the citizens of a country, there can never be any unity.

One of the difficulties of this country is, that there is an attempt made to create unity, while at the centre of the country, in my view, there is a vacuum of what takes to require unity to effect the reality. That required central theme is well understood by us, new Canadians. That central theme does not rely upon the language dominance, upon a cultural external dominance, upon territory. We new Canadians are very fortunate because our territory is in every province of the country. We can take our own culture, and we can take the culture of any of the ten provinces and internally feel secure. We do not need grounds. What the new Canada can create for the old Canada is what is required for unity. What is required is a philosophical commitment to value, a philosophical commitment to human rights, a philosophical commitment, not merely to pay lip service to the Canadian Bill of Rights, but to believe in it as a rule of law, not really to pay lip service to the declaration of Helsinki Human Rights Conference, but to actually believe in it as a rule of law, not like the Federal Government decree that we subscribe to the United Nations Bill of Rights and then to ignore it in reality.

What we are to Canada is, in my view, the human rights conscience for Canada. If a country is to survive, and if a country is to stand united, it cannot be united merely because it says and wishes to be united. It cannot be united merely because it attempts to keep the country together when one party wishes to break away. It has to stand for something. Up until this time, what did the new Canada think the country stood for?, That it was a nice country, and it had people who had pleasant manners. I believe we as the new Canada, can demonstrate for the rest of Canada that we treasure certain freedom, that some of us have fought for with our life, that some of us have given up homes, countries, families in order to be part of this it. This freedom is central to the very existence of the philosophy which will produce a united Canada. What is this freedom? We have a Bill of Rights in this country for some 50 years. But many of the rights have been ignored traditionally because the majority of this country have never felt that it is necessary to confirm, to believe in and to subscribe to a firm commitment to human rights and human values around which people may rally to say is this what makes us Canada.

It is not the fact that we wear different costumes in our ethnic celebrations, it is not that we are prepared to eat different food and invite our neighbours to come and watch us, it is not that we in fact speak different languages in the countries whence we came that make us what we are, but that the central philosophical value of our existence is rooted in our principles, the right of freedom of speech, the right of freedom of relations, of immigrations, the right to due process of law, the right to know. The third world that is represented here, the new Canada, can teach the rest of Canada, that only when the fundamental freedoms that are at the base of a philosophical system of political reality that keeps the country together are real, that only if they are subscribed to by everybody, only then will we have a country that is worth keeping united.

This conference not only stands for the fact that the people who represent the entire world have joined together to form a new Canada that they have brought with them. There is an urgent need to have this country, our Canada, to stand up for and to subscribe to a central value which is not land-dominance, not language-dominance, but a real respect for the process of law, for the Bill of Rights and what it stands for. If we succeed, if we commit ourselves, we will ultimately be able to say: we stand for something, and that something is a basic sense of rights and human values that represent Canada.

Presentation Four

DR. JAN DUKSZTA, MPP

In Canada there is an increasing recognition of the discrepancy between the stated aims and ideals of the policy of multiculturalism and the actualization of those aims and ideals in the attitudes and institutions of Canadian society. On the one hand, we have a policy of multiculturalism; on the other, there is the reality of a dominant, English Canadian society, expressed in our mass media, our political structures, our cultural institutions, our work places, and our schools.

Canadian society, with some exceptions for Quebec, is organized by the standards and institutions appropriate to the English Canadian ethnic group. This group is relatively closed to non-members, but it is also intolerant of practices which diverge from its own world view. The dilemma of non-English Canadians is that they are simultaneously confronted with pressures to become like English Canadians, while at the same time they are aware of the near impossibility of becoming an English Canadian without totally sacrificing their culture and transferring their ethnicity. Many non-English Canadians do not wish to make such a change.

Canada is multicultural in that many communities besides the English Canadian ethnic group have become indigenous to Canada. However, there is a hierarchical arrangement with English Canadians clearly in the dominant position.

Implicit in the notion of multiculturalism and explicit in government policy is the concept that no one culture will so dominate Canadian society that others will not be able to flourish. There is the recognition that Canadian society is shaped by the interplay of many cultures. Building a Canadian nation state in a framework of multiculturalism means the inclusion of institutions and world views beyond those of the two founding peoples. The external trappings of a culture are meaningless unless they are tied to a shared experience and world view. Thus, for Canadian nationalism to be an expression of the collective experience of the Canadian people, it must be multicultural so that it includes the participation of most Canadians in the expression of Canada's identity.

Through its multicultural policy, the Canadian and Ontario governments work to preserve the external trappings of ethnic minorities. Research studies, direct grants to ethnic groups, folklore festivals, aid to ethnic newspapers, the establishment of ethnic archives – all these programs aim to preserve folkore traditions which English Canadians tend to look upon as quaint, charming and decorative, but they do not address the question of the role of alternative lifestyles and world views in Canada and Ontario generally.

The cornerstone of one's identity is language. In many respects, the dietary habits, music and dancing, the traditional way of dressing, etc. are external trappings which are only partially relevant to the ethno-cultural gestalt. Artistic and cultural activity is a natural extension of the language which is the core of culture. Without the preservation of language, those aspects become nothing but decorative folklore, without meaning. The policy of multiculturalism does not recognize the key position of language. It stresses external trappings only in a tokenistic and insincere fashion, which ultimately talks multiculturalism but intends complete assimilation.

It has been characteristic of both federal and provincial governments that its leaders have shied away from accepting a major responsibility for multiculturalism, and shifting the burden of responsibility to other jurisdictions. Truly it is a responsibility of the federal government to implement major programs on multiculturalism but 1/3 millions of Ontarians are of other than English or French origins and the provincial government *must* move towards 1) devising and 2) consequently implementing policies which would make multiculturalism a reality instead of the sham that it is now.

I believe in multiculturalism. I believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. I take seriously the sentiments expressed by the federal and provincial governments on the policy of multiculturalism and I want to give notice to everyone that the seven million ethnics in Canada whose origin is neither English nor French take those sentiments seriously and the time has come to introduce some structural changes in our society that reflect those sentiments. Since I am an Ontario politician, I am going to give you 24 positive steps to make multiculturalism a reality in Ontario.

The principles of a multicultural society must permeate the policy making process in Ontario. Accepting our multicultural reality will entail that the government of Ontario do all in its power to assist the development of a multicultural social fabric.

1 Ontario should assist the development of ethnic-cultural groups through an active programme of financial, moral and political support.

2 The Government of Ontario should establish the necessary structural framework to promote creative inter-action among all Canadian cultural groups.

3 The Government of Ontario should assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers which limit full participation in Ontario's society.

4 Immigrants have special orientation needs which must be provided for. The Ministry of Community and Social Services must accept the fact that ethno-cultural minorities have needs that are not satisfied by existing programmes. The goal of these immigrant services must not be to assimilate but rather to make them participants in Canadian society.

5 Workers, not speaking English, must be given protection in the workplace. All working people deserve work, decent pay, and safe working conditions. The Government of Ontario must take specific actions to protect those groups who are the targets of exploitation. The Workmen's Compensation Board is particularly guilty of providing translation instead of cultural sensitivity.

6 It is our responsibility to assert in the organization and financing of day-care centres and nursery schools in which are conducted in languages other than French and English and to provide training facilities for personnel who are to serve those non-English and non-French speaking day-care centres and nursery schools.

7 We must assist in the organization and financing of senior citizen homes for those ethnocultural groups who need such facilities.

8 All agencies that provide essential social services for a particular ethnocultural community be recognized as an integral part of our public social service system and should receive assistance from public funds.

9 All ethnic communities must have adequate number of Canadian trained doctors, nurses, lawyers, social workers, and teachers. The government of Ontario must use whatever form of affirmative action necessary – scholarships, revised entrance requirements, quota systems, etc. to achieve this goal.

Recognizing the fact of multiculturalism, we must work to provide a climate of opinion favourable to the growth of a multicultural understanding of Canadian society. This must be done through the media, the schools, and through the direct propagation of our many cultures. The media because it is controlled and dominated by foreigners and large corporate interests is unlikely to be a source of support for multiculturalism.

10 We must assert whatever pressure we can to assure greater access to community cable programmes and educational TV. The Ontario Educational Communications Authority (OECA) must have an Ethnic Division, on the lines of its French Division, and should embark upon the production of educational and art programs at least in languages of major ethnic groups. TV Ontario

must move to devote a significant proportion of its allocated time to "ethnic matters." CBC, above all must reflect the reality of multicultural Canada, one hardly realizes from its programmes that there are other people beside English and French in Canada.

11 The Government of Ontario must support the CRTC's policy that a multicultural channel is a legitimate part of basic service even if it means one fewer American channel. Our many ethnic groups have always taken the lead in the preservation and promotion of their heritages. It is their responsibility, but the government is obliged to aid them significantly. This can be done in the following manner.

Education

My recent Private Member's Bill on the Right to Language guillotined by the Legislature this past week brought out the educational needs of Ontario's ethnic communities.

14 The recognition of all Ontario's languages as *valid* languages of study.

15 The recognition of all Ontario's languages as valid languages of instruction in circumstances where they significantly aid the learning opportunity of students from ethnic minorities.

16 The recognition that the participation and control of Heritage Language Programmes belong to the ethnic community.

17 Heritage Language must be given equal status and not made inferior to other subjects at school. Learning a Heritage Language must not carry a stigma of being a non-Canadian.

We must go further and take immediate steps to place a greater emphasis on the study of languages at all levels of our school system.

18 Special bursaries and scholarships be made readily available to promising language students on entrance to the universities to encourage them to study languages in order to form a pool of specialists in all of Canada's languages.

19 Comparative literature courses in translation in both English and French be introduced at all grade levels throughout the entire school system in order that all Canadians be sensitized and familiarized with the literary heritage of Canada's ethnocultural groups. Such courses should be incorporated into the existing "English" or "French" literature programmes.

20 The Department of Education take under advisement the revision of existing school texts and other teaching materials in order to present a more comprehensive picture of the contribu-

tion of Canada's ethnocultural groups to the cultural, social, historical, economic and political life of Canada.

21 That when the need and the demand is proven sufficient, Canadian universities should establish Bilingual Chairs of Studies for the various ethnocultural groups. The working languages would be English or French and the Canadian language of the ethnocultural group in question. Consideration should also be given towards eventually developing these Chairs of Studies into bilingual Colleges. Why don't institutions like OISE, TV Ontario, and the Royal Ontario Museum reflect our multiculturality?

22 An Office for Canadian Ethnic Minorities should be established within the Ontario Council of the Arts. This office should be responsible for aiding the development of the artistic communities within the ethnic communities of Ontario. The Ontario Council of the Arts must support ethnic theatre, literature, graphic arts, etc.

23 As a first step a major report on the Arts in Other Ethnic Communities must be undertaken. The goal of such a step will be to identify strengths which exist at present and to determine areas where further support would be most beneficial.

24 The Ministry of Culture and Recreation must form an Advisory Council for "Ethnic" Affairs on the lines of its Advisory Council for Franco-Ontarian affairs, including a significant number of people speaking third languages, or to put teeth into Heritage Ontario. Provincial Library Services Branch must purchase books in other languages on a massive scale.

In summation, my recommendations are not radical. They are not costly. They will not overthrow the existing order. All they do is recognize the fact that 1/3 of Ontario's citizens have made a significant contribution to the development of this country. The fact that the Government of Ontario has been able to either ignore this or placate us with tokenistic gestures, speaks to our ethnic lack of power. It says we have only the status of second class citizens. This is totally unacceptable.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTIONS – MINUTES OF THE PLENARY SESSION

Chairman: PROF. WALTER TARNOPOLSKY

Prof. Walter Tarnopolsky was Chairman of the concluding Plenary Session entitled "Presentation of Resolutions: Where do we go from here?". The speakers on the panel were introduced and each presented their view on the direction to be taken in future to ensure a united and culturally-rich country.

Following the speakers' addresses, it was agreed that new motions must be presented to the Chairman in writing and that approval would be given by consensus to their consideration by the Planning Committee.

Mr. Thomas moved: That an interim Committee on Unity Within Diversity be formed, composed of members of the present Planning Committee of the Multicultural Conference, to prepare a future program in which confrontation would be changed to collective co-operation.

The consensus of the assembly was that the motion be carried.

It was suggested that such a committee should move into the area of individualism and that, as Canadians, through civil rights, arts, workshops on the constitution of Canada, etc., individual contributions should be made.

Discussion was held on the following suggestions put forth by:

1. *The German Community representative*: That the multicultural needs of Canada should be studied with regard to the multicultural aspects of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and that such findings be submitted to the Government of Canada, so that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's future role would meet the growing cultural needs of the people of Canada.
2. *The Japanese-Canadian Community representative*: That this Conference urge the Government and all parties concerned that the Bill of Rights be entrenched as a constitutional amendment.
3. *The Committee on Race Relations*: That the new constitution, if and when it is instituted, be a partnership of the three

groups in Canada (i.e., the English, French and multicultural peoples).

It was felt that it should be illegal for any province of Canada to separate from the country.

Mr. Deslauriers noted that the Conference failed to discuss the "tragedy" regarding Quebec mentioned in the draft resolutions.

It was suggested that in an effort to try and get other communities involved, the next conference be held in Quebec and that all our schools, federally or provincially funded, teach French and English, so that the children of Canada can grow together.

It was agreed by consensus that the following motion be put forth by a participant in the Conference to be considered by the Planning Committee:

That the Task Force on National Unity be asked to support the right of minority groups to social equality and opportunity.

The assembly considered the draft resolutions presented at the Conference.

The Ukrainian Committee of Ontario representative moved that the draft resolutions be amended to read:

(A) WHEREAS the multicultural peoples recognize that the geographical and political unity of Canadian Confederation is an historical fact; and

WHEREAS the multicultural peoples of Canada recognize Quebec as a seat of unique culture, and that Quebec belongs to Canada and Canada belongs to Quebec; and

WHEREAS the concept of Canada without Quebec would be a national tragedy;

BE IT RESOLVED that we fully and unequivocally support all ventures: constitutional, economic and cultural, to promote the identity of one Canada.

(B) WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada (The British North America Act) does not reflect the multicultural reality of its present population; and whereas the preservation of one Canada is being viewed either in Anglophone or Francophone terms;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Constitution be amended to safeguard the rights of all peoples; and further,

BE IT RESOLVED that the question of the Unity of Canada cannot be settled without due regard for and consultation with all peoples.

The consensus of the assembly was that the motion be carried.

The Ukrainian Committee of Ontario representative moved that the procedures recommended by the Resolution Sub-

Committee in order to achieve the above resolutions be adopted. The consensus of the assembly was that the motion be carried. (Appendix A attached.)

Discussion was held on the following:

- that future constitutional values of the education system somehow reflect and offer a resolution of the various moral, philosophical and social values of the multicultural groups represented at the Conference; and
- whether the multicultural peoples, as the Community, can have a hand in the development process of a new constitution, that would recognize the values of the draft resolutions and procedures, especially in school textbooks.

The above concerns were put foward by Mr. Kuretsky and a representative of the Italian-Canadian Association of York University respectively.

It was agreed by consensus that the following motion put forth by a participant in the Conference be considered by the Planning Committee:

WHEREAS the numerous cultural heritages represented in Canada offer a diversity of multicultural, religious and personal value systems, the Canadian education and legal systems should recognize these values, especially in school textbooks.

APPENDIX A

WHEREAS the issue regarding National Unity has hitherto involved only the Anglophone and Francophone segment of the population;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Conference recognizes the right of multicultural groups to be involved in the debate as guaranteed by the Canadian Bill of Rights.

WHEREAS one third of the population of Canada is Anglophone, one third is Francophone and one third of various other backgrounds; and

WHEREAS all these groups desire to have a voice in the future Confederation of Canada; and

WHEREAS education is an unquestionable influence on our citizens;

BE IT RESOLVED that school curricula reflect the reality of our nation, and the role that all groups have played in building this nation.

WHEREAS the Media of Canada is instrumental in shaping a Canadian identity;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Media create an understanding of Canadian identity by reflecting the richness and pluralistic dimensions of Canadian culture.

CLOSING REMARKS

HON. JOHN ROBERTS
Secretary of State

I know that I can shorten my remarks as my colleague Mr. Norman Cafik, Minister of Multiculturalism has already spoken to you. I am sure that a great deal of things I should say he has already said to you. I am sure that he has already emphasized to you the importance of multicultural program in a horizontal sense where we hope multiculturalism to have an effect on a variety of on-going programs. It is another way of looking at the context of multiculturalism. It is no accident that multiculturalism is within the Department of Secretary of State rather than in a separate department. I just like to take a few moments to discuss some role of the Secretary of State. Multiculturalism is there because we believe it takes place within a context of other programs which are within the Department of Secretary of State such as citizenship and our official languages program. In fact if we look at the official role of the Secretary of State Department we find that the Department concerns itself with the basis of national unity in our country. When I speak of national unity, I don't like to make identification, to make equation as people in Canada often do. When we talk about national identity, we only talk about language rights, language programs or problems. National unity is not just concerned with the situation of language in Canada. National unity is also concerned with the regional representation of the country, the way which the geographical areas of the country feel alienated from the centre of decision-making power structure of the country. It deals with the disparity in economic growth of various parts of the country. To seek national unity is to try to create a different kind of society in Canada, a society which rejects the structure of class as we find it in Europe as a basis of building society, a society which does not accept the other North American society taking homogeneity as the organizing principle for society, but stresses rather on diversity, a pluralistic society as the basis for the organization of the communities.

I want to say a few words on each of the three major programs of the Secretary of State – citizenship, official languages and multiculturalism. As you know, just a year ago we proclaimed the new Citizenship Act. We are proud of this act. We believe that it represents the values which we as government hold, and also the values which are there in our society. Our official languages policy is directed towards meeting a need which is at the base of discontents and insecurities being felt by the French speaking population of our country. Because of the developed communications, and the economic integration of the North American continent, there is particularly in Quebec, a sense of insecurity on the part of French Canadians as to whether their language and culture will survive and thrive in the North American context. The battle that we have been fighting within the Province of Quebec is to convince the French speaking Quebecers that the continued existence of Canada – a country of 23 million people which will respect their language rights is a better way of meeting their needs and protecting their interests. That will be the alternative to a separate Quebec – a French speaking island in the sea of 230 million English speaking people. We are winning that battle. The public opinion polls show for the first time since November 15, 1976 that forces which believe in federalism are ahead in public opinion.

When I say we have been winning the battle I am really saying that the French speaking Canadians who believe in Federal Canada are winning that battle. If they are to win that battle, if they are to be successful, they must be able to say honestly to their French speaking fellow citizens that people outside of Quebec care or not about assuring that there is a support of context about French languages, they are prepared to establish, not simply tolerate, French as an official language all across Canada, not simply in federal jurisdiction, but in provincial jurisdiction as well. I believe we must go further. We must entrench in Canadian Constitution those language rights, and not simply languages rights, but all of the individual rights which are normally contained in the Bill of Rights. Having two official languages, I believe it ensures that we have a pluralistic society which is the basis of the strength, the importance that we give to multiculturalism. I know you have discussed what multiculturalism means. It is not simply, at least to my mind, a policy of ethnic and linguistic ghettos in our society. That is not the purpose multiculturalism. It is not a policy designed to force anything on any one. But it is a policy to help those who wish to improve their heritage and tradition that they have brought to Canada from other lands. To help them to preserve their culture, and to strengthen their own appreciation and to enable them to inform us, to bring to us, to make contribution to other parts of Canadian society with their heritage. It is simply not enough to proclaim Canada as a multicultural society. To say that it exists, obviously it does reflect facts about Canada. The creation of a multicultural society is something that we must be working towards. It is not simply a question of establishing rights and privileges. I think the basic trust of our society is equal opportunity... After November 15th, after the Parti Quebecois victory, the people who came to me, who wrote to me, who telephoned me, who are mostly concerned with what is happening in Canada are not my French Canadian friends, not my friends established for generations, but are those from a variety of ethnic groups, the people who have chosen Canada, the people who have a strong appreciation for this country, because they have been able to compare other societies with Canada, and because they know the freedom and opportunity which it provides. That sense of Canada, I believe, is strongest in the multicultural communities. What I would like to see is to have you transmit that sense of commitment, that sense of enthusiasm for the country to some of those natives, because they have not been forced to make a choice, to make a comparision. They do not have the same sense of value.

This conference is something from which we as government is going to learn. We are not proclaiming a multicultural society existing in Canada, but we are trying to make it concrete. We are working towards the creation of a multicultural society. I salute the work you have done here over the past two days. I hope it is going to be of value to you. I know it is going to be of value to my government.

MULTICULTURAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN UNITY

Programme

SHERATON CENTRE HOTEL, *123 Queen Street, Toronto, Ontario*

Friday, April 21, 1978 - Dominion Ball Room

FIRST SESSION

6:00 p.m. *Registration*

6:30 p.m. *Cash Bar*

7:30 p.m. *Dinner Session*
Opening Remarks: ALEX CHUMAK, *Co-Chairman*

Guest Speaker: HON. NORMAN CAFIK,
Minister of State - Multiculturalism
Theme - Federalism, Multicultural Groups and Canadian Unity

A Response from: DR. JOHN EVANS, *President: University of Toronto*

Saturday, April 22, 1978 - Grand Ball Room

8:30-9:30 a.m. *Registration*
Calling to Order: RITEN RAY, *Co-Chairman*
Session Chairperson: MS. SYLVIA SEARLES

9:30-10:15 a.m. Opening Address
Guest Speaker - DR. STUART SMITH, M.P.P., *Leader of Opposition: Province of Ontario*
Theme - Canadian Society - A Mosaic or Melting Pot
Thanked by: DR. W. G. DANYLIW, Q.C.

10:15-10:30 a.m. Coffee Break

10:30-12:00 p.m. SECOND SESSION - Panel Discussion
Theme - Unity and The Multicultural Community - An Analysis of the Issue From Different Perspectives.
Moderator - PROF. SHIU KONG, *President, Toronto Chinese Community Services Association*

Panelists - MR. LOUIS BRUYERE, *President Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association*
MR. OMER DESLAURIERS, *Chairman, Council on Franco-Ontarian Affairs*
SENATOR DR. STANLEY HAIDASZ
PROF. TONY RUPRECHT, *York University*
MR. ALEX CHUMAK, *Trustee, Toronto Board of Education*
MR. NICK LELUK, M.P.P.

12:00-1:30 p.m. Luncheon
Session Chairman: MR. GEORGE K. IMAI
Guest Speaker - HON. ROBERT WELCH, Q.C. *Minister of Culture & Recreation*
Thanked by: MR. LOUIS THOMAS

1:30-3:00 p.m. THIRD SESSION - Panel: View of Youth on Unity
Moderator - PROF. J. MAVALWALA, *Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism*
Panelists - JAMSHEED BOYCE, JOANNA KURAS, GARY YEE, BASIL GEROL, MARIA AUGIMERI

3:00-3:15 p.m. Coffee Break

3:15-5:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION - Presentation of Resolutions: Where do we go from here?
Chairman - PROF. WALTER TARNOPOLSKY, *Human Rights Commission, United Nations*
Speakers - PROF. GEORGE BANCROFT, DR. L. POLYMENAKOS, MR. JOSEPH POMERANT, Q.C., DR. JAN DUKSZTA, M.P.P., MR. YURI SHYMKO
Closing Remarks: HON. JOHN ROBERTS, *Secretary of State for Canada*

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Elected Members

HON. JOHN ROBERTS, Secretary of State for Canada
HON. NORMAN CAFIK, Minister of State – Multiculturalism
HON. ROBERT WELCH, Minister of Culture and Recreation
HON. LARRY GROSSMAN, M.P.P.
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Senator EUGENE FORSEY
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RITEN RAY

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MULTICULTURAL COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL UNITY

As a follow-up to the Multicultural Conference on Unity Within Diversity, and in conjunction with the Council for Canadian Unity, a one-day colloquium will be held on January 27, 1979 in Hart House, the University of Toronto. The objectives for the colloquium are as follows:

- To further the interest of the ethnocultural community in the Canadian Unity debate
- To recommend ways by which the ethnocultural groups can make a collective contribution towards the Canadian Constitution
- To highlight the concerns of the ethnocultural community in the constitutional change.

In addition, the Committee has forwarded copies of the adopted resolutions to all the members of the Parliament of Ontario and of the Parliament of Canada.

Members of the Multicultural Committee for National Unity:

ALEX CHUMAK *(Chairman)*
RITEN RAY *(Executive Secretary)*
MRS. VALVE ANDRE
MS. MARIA AUGIMERI
SHIU L. KONG
LOUIS THOMAS
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